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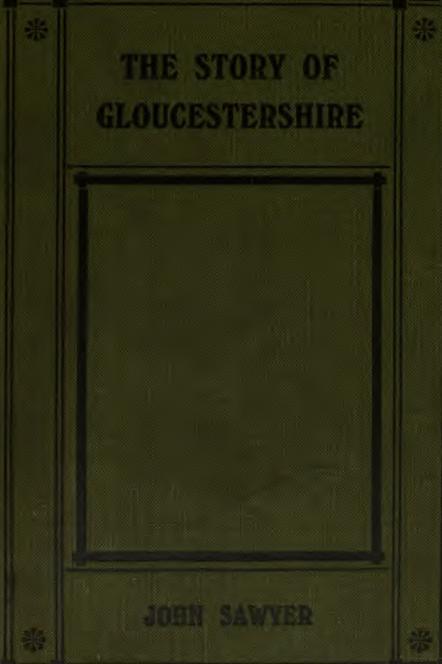
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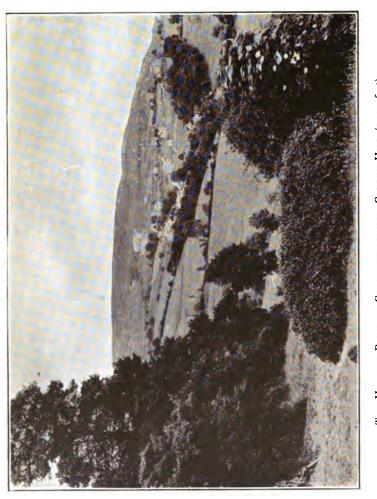
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OF BOSTON









THE HIGHEST POINT IN GLOUCESTERSHIRE—CLEEVE HILL (1,070 feet).

# THE STORY OF GLOUCESTERSHIRE

BY

# JOHN SAWYER

MEMBER OF
THE GLOUCESTERSHIRE EDUCATION COMMITTEE

LATE MEMBER OF THE
CHELTENHAM EDUCATION COMMITTEE

WITH MAP AND ILLUSTRATIONS

SECOND EDITION

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#### PREFACE TO SECOND EDITION.

The rapid exhaustion of an issue of two thousand copies of the First Edition of this little work is an indication that it achieves the two objects for which it was written. Those objects were (1) to give practical effect to the suggestion of the Education Committee of the County Councils' Association, that in our Elementary Schools lessons in geography should begin with the physical features of the district, and instruction in history should, so far as possible, begin with events associated with some local event or object; and (2) to present the story of Gloucestershire as illustrative of the story of England: for, as Mr. F. A. HYETT says, in his valuable work, Gloucester in National History, "if an interest in local history can be awakened, national history is often studied with greater pleasure, and to more advantage."

In preparing a Second Edition I have availed myself of the opportunity to revise the form in which a few of the leading events in our county history are presented, and to correct a few errors which kindly critics have pointed out. I have also added an entirely new chapter, on "The Making of Gloucestershire," in which an attempt is made to trace the stages through

which the county came into being.

As stated in the First Edition, the authorities consulted are far too numerous to mention, but it is only just to gratefully acknowledge my indebtedness for much information gleaned from the Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society.

For photographs with which the book is illustrated my thanks are due to Professor S. H. Reynolds, Dr. J. H. Garrett, Mr. J. W. Tatcher, Mr. C. Upton, Mr. J. W. Gray, and others; and to Mr. Ed. J. Burrow I am indebted for the kind loan of several blocks.

JOHN SAWYER.

GLEVUM LODGE, CHELTENHAM, October, 1908.



## CONTENTS.

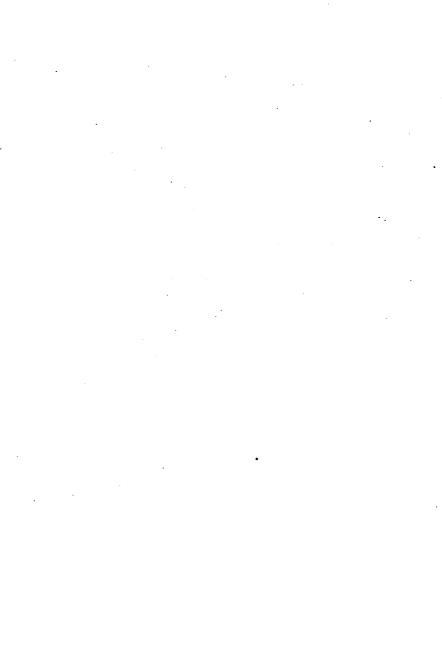
CHA.	P. PHISIOGRAPHY AND GEOLOGY.	PAGE
1.	WHERE RAIN COMES FROM, AND WHERE IT FALLS	I
2.	How Springs, Wells and Rivers are formed	4
3.	How RAIN GOES BACK TO THE OCEAN	6
4.	How the Land is Worn Away	9
5.	How New Land is Made	13
6.	How Cotswold and Vale Rocks were Formed	16
7.	How Coal was formed	19
8.	THE ROCK-HISTORY OF GLOUCESTERSHIRE	23
9.	(barriman)	30
10.	How the Hills and Valleys were Formed	36
10.	110W THE THELS AND VALLETS WERE I CAMED	30
	PREHISTORIC TIMES.	
II.	EARLIEST MEN IN GLOUCESTERSHIRE	40
	THE ROMAN OCCUPATION.	
12.	How the Romans came into Gloucestershire	47
13.	How the Romans lived in Gloucestershire	52
- 3.		,-
	ENGLISH AND DANES.	
	THE COMING OF THE ENGLISH INTO GLOUCESTERSHIRE	57
15.	THE MAKING OF GLOUCESTERSHIRE	63
16.	THE DANES IN GLOUCESTERSHIRE	73
	MIT MARKAN PERIAR	
	THE NORMAN PERIOD.	
17.	THE NORMAN CONQUEST OF GLOUCESTERSHIRE	77
18.	LIFE IN THE NORMAN PERIOD	18
19.	Under the Conqueror's Sons	87
20.	TWENTY YEARS OF MISRULE	9i
	THE PLANTAGENET PERIOD.	
21.	A GREAT LAW-MAKER	93
22.	A Long Struggle for Freedom	96
23.	DAILY LIFE OF THE PEOPLE	105
24.	GOVERNMENT BY THE PEOPLE	110
25.	A MURDERED KING	115
2Ğ-	WAR AND PESTILENCE	121
27.	PARLIAMENT AND TAXATION	128
28.		132
29.	SHAKESPEARE AND CIRENCESTER	136
		-

#### CONTENTS.

CHA	P. UNDER LANCASTRIAN AND Y	ORK		PAGE
30.	THE BATTLE OF TEWKESBURY			139
31.	THE NEW WORLD AND THE NEW LEARNING			147
3		• •	• •	-4/
	THE HOUSE OF TUDOR.			
32.	DISSOLUTION OF THE MONASTERIES	• •	• •	151
33.	GLOUCESTERSHIRE AND THE ENGLISH BIBLE			156
34.	GLOUCESTERSHIRE AND THE REFORMATION			162
35.	THE SPANISH ARMADA			16 <b>6</b>
36.	THE DAYS OF "GOOD QUEEN BESS"			170
37.	THE STATE AND THE POOR			174
38.	EDUCATION IN GLOUCESTERSHIRE			1 <i>77</i>
•				• •
	THE STUART PERIOD.			
39.	THE GUNPOWDER PLOT			183
40.	THE CIVIL WAR IN GLOUCESTERSHIRE		• •	187
41.	FIGHTING ON THE COTSWOLDS	• • ,	• •	191
42.	FIGHTING IN THE VALE AND FOREST			193
43.	THE SIEGE OF GLOUCESTER			197
44.	A YEAR OF WARFARE			201
45.	THE END OF THE WAR			206
	THE COMMONWEALTH.			
46.	ELEVEN YEARS WITHOUT A KING			211
-				
	THE HOUSE OF STUART RESTO	RED	٠.	
47.	"SHICK-SHACK" DAY			217
48.	PARLIAMENT OPPOSED TO CROWN			220
		• •	• •	225
50.		• •	• •	228
50.	11 121102102 112102011011 11 11 11	• •	• •	220
	THE HANOVERIAN KINGS.			
				004
		• •	• •	234
	AN INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION IMPERIAL AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT	• •	• •	243
53.	Imperial and Local Government	• •	• •	253
	CHRISTIANITY AND ARCHITECT	URE	:	
54.	CHRISTIANITY IN GLOUCESTERSHIRE			259
55.	THE CHURCHES OF GLOUCESTERSHIRE			268
95		-	-	

## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

		PAGE
THE HIGHEST POINT IN GLOUCESTERSHIRE—	-Facing	TITLE.
✓ Seven Springs—Source of the Thames		1
√THE SEVERN NEAR TEWKESBURY		4
√THE COLN AT BIBURY		5
A Cotswold Brook		12
/ THE "Bore" on the Severn		13
✓ A Cotswold Quarry		16
✓ QUARRY AT LECKHAMPTON HILL		17
Geological Sections:		25, 31
✓ Fossils		32, 33
/ Roman Remains at Chedworth		48
, PAVEMENT AT CIRENCESTER		49
√Home of the Britons		64
✓ CRICKLEY HILL CAMP		65
FAC-SIMILE OF DOMESDAY BOOK		82
GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL FROM THE EAST		120
√TOMB OF EDWARD II		121
✓ Berkeley Castle		136
✓ A BIT OF OLD TEWKESBURY		144
✓ TEWKESBURY ABBEY		145
A Page of Tyndale's New Testament		158
JTEWKESBURY MONASTERY GATEWAY		160
✓ HAILES ABBEY		151
✓ THE PAINSWICK STOCKS		172
✓SUDELEY CASTLE		199
√ARMY LEAVING LONDON TO RELIEVE GLOU	CESTER	200
THE OLD COACHING DAYS		250
✓ Saxon Arch at Deerhurst		276
Norman Arch at Brockworth		••
Norman Pier at Chedworth		• •
EARLY ENGLISH TOWER AT CHELTENHAM		••
DECORATED DOOR AND WINDOWS AT BADG		••
RETICULATED TRACERY AT CHELTENHAM		••
CURVILINEAR TRACERY AT CHELTENHAM		••
✓ Perpendicular Choir at Gloucester Cat	THEDRAL	••
✓ PHYSICAL MAP OF GLOUCESTERSHIRE		END.





SEVEN SPRINGS -- SOURCE OF THE THAMES.

#### CHAPTER I.

### WHERE RAIN COMES FROM, AND WHERE IT FALLS.

No subject is more talked about than the weather. As a rule, we are glad when the weather is fine, and sorry when it is wet. Yet it is just as necessary that we should have rain as it is that we should have sunshine.

If we were to count the days on which it rains, we should find that they number about half the days in a year. Sometimes it rains for several days in succession; sometimes we have continuous fine weather for two or three weeks; but the records of rainfall in various parts of Gloucestershire for twenty years show the least number of rainy days in a year to be about 150, the greatest number to be about 210, and the average number about 184. The number of wet days in each month do not very much differ. As a rule, we have rain on fourteen days in a month during the Spring and Summer, and on sixteen to eighteen days in a month during the Autumn and Winter.

If we were to measure the quantity of rain that falls, we should find it to be much greater on some days than on others. Sometimes we get merely a passing shower, which only damps the surface of the ground; sometimes in the course of a day and night an inch of rain falls—that is, if it fell into a pan with straight sides, placed where only the rain coming straight from the clouds could get into it, the water caught in the pan would be an inch deep. Some parts of the year are also wetter than others. We usually have about twelve inches of rain during the Winter and Spring, and about sixteen inches during the Summer and Autumn.

There are great variations in the quantities of rain that fall in different years. In 1882 the rainfall in Cheltenham was very heavy, and amounted to nearly

38 inches, and in the last three months there were only twenty dry days. The years 1892 and 1893, on the other hand, were very dry, the quantity of rain that fell in each year being only between 19 and 20 inches. In the ten years 1878–1887 the fall in Cheltenham averaged about 30 inches; in the ten years 1888–1897 it was only 25 inches.

Much more rain falls in some districts than others. The greatest width of Gloucestershire is only about forty miles, yet even across this distance there are great differences in the rainfall. At the town of Coleford, on the western side of the county, the annual average for the ten years 1888–1897 was nearly 41 inches; at Lechlade, on the eastern side, the annual average for the same period was only 24 inches; and at Beckford, on the north-east, it was less than 23 inches.

In order to find the explanation of this unequal distribution of rain, we must first see where the chief rain-bearing clouds come from, and then what happens

to them as they pass over our county.

During the summer, shallow ponds often lose all their water, not because it has soaked into the earth, but because the ponds have been dried up by the heat of the sun. This process, which is termed evaporation, also goes on in cold weather, though more slowly. On a windy day it is more rapid than on a still day. because, as the air over the water becomes laden with vapour, it is blown away, and air less moist takes its place. So, likewise, air, when it is blown over a large expanse of water, such as a sea, steals vapour from it, and when this is cooled the moisture forms clouds. in the same way that the warm air you breathe out on a very cold morning forms a kind of mist. If the clouds are chilled by passing into a cold atmosphere, their moisture is condensed and falls as rain, just as steam issuing from the spout of a tea-kettle drops in water upon the hearth because it is condensed by the colder air of the room.

Now, if we look at a map of England and Wales, we shall see that Gloucestershire is much farther from the sea in some directions than it is in others. Eastward it is a hundred and fifty miles to the coast, and northward we may walk on dry land in a straight line for more than three hundred miles. But the south-west border of the county is broken by the Bristol Channel, which gradually broadens until it is lost in the Atlantic Ocean; and southward it is only eighty miles to the English Channel. Clouds which come from the south-west and south are therefore much more heavily laden with moisture than those which come from other directions.

If the map we are looking at shows high-lands and low-lands, we may also see that on the western side of the county is the hilly region of the Forest of Dean, whilst on the eastern side is the high table-land of the Cotswolds, the two districts being divided by the broad Valley of the Severn.

Now we can see why the rainfall is always much heavier at Coleford than it is at Lechlade and Beckford. South-westerly and westerly winds carry the clouds over the Forest of Dean, where the cold air of the hills draws down a good deal of their moisture. As the Severn Valley is crossed, the rainfall diminishes. On the high ground of the Cotswolds the rainfall becomes heavier, but by the time the north-eastern and eastern borders of the county are reached, the clouds have had, as it were, a double squeezing, and the rainfall is comparatively light.

We thus see that the amount of rain which falls in the county very much depends upon the direction of the wind. If we wish to find how often the wind is in what is commonly called a rainy quarter, we may do so with the help of the weather-cock on a church tower. When the head of the weather-cock points over the chancel, the wind is in the east, so that we may easily see where the wind is when it blows from any other point of the compass. Those who study the science which is called meteorology make daily records of the wind, and they find that in the county of Gloucester south-westerly and westerly winds blow on about 120 days in a year. It does not always rain when those winds blow, and we

often get rain when the wind is in other quarters. Snow, for instance, nearly always is brought by northerly or easterly winds. Still, for about a third of the year the prevailing winds are those which bring moisture from the Atlantic Ocean, to be dropped in the form of rain on Gloucestershire soil.

#### CHAPTER II.

How Springs, Wells, and Rivers are Formed.

LET us suppose that rain is falling, and we are out of doors watching what becomes of it. On the ploughed land, or in the grass field, or in the wood, it sinks into the soil, just as water soaks into a sponge. On the hard road it forms little streamlets, which run down the roadside, and sooner or later join a larger stream. After the rain has stopped, we soon lose sight of what has fallen, and if we never saw it again we should have to wait until the next storm for water to drink. But we do see it again. The spring that gushes out of the hill-side, the stream that runs through the village, the well in the yard or garden, are formed of water stored up in the earth by constant storms.

How a spring is formed may be illustrated with a sponge, a slate, and a jug of water. Rest the slate on a gentle slope, place the sponge upon it, and then gently pour water upon the sponge. As soon as the sponge is saturated the water sinks through it, and as it cannot go any farther, it then flows off the sloping slate. The soil into which the rain soaks is like a sponge. Slowly the water makes its way downwards until it comes to a bed of clay, which, like the slate, will not let it pass through, and then it flows out of any hole on the surface of the land in what we call a spring.



THE SEVERN NEAR TEWKESBURY.

THE COLN AT BIBURY.

What a well is may be easily understood by repeating the experiment already described, and also using a thin glass tube. If, while the sponge is saturated, we push into it the glass tube, and suck its end, we draw out the air, and the water comes up the tube into the mouth. We pump water from a well in exactly the same way. The soil is the sponge, the tube is the well; and when we lift the pump handle up and down we extract air from the well pipe, and so cause water to rise in it and come out through the spout.

Some springs yield very large quantities of water even during long periods of dry weather. The spring at Sierford, on the Cotswold Hills, about five miles east of Cheltenham, sends out between three and four millions of gallons of water every day, and a similar quantity flows into the river Coln from the spring at Bibury. Other springs yield much less water in dry weather than in wet. From the Seven Springs, about four miles south of Cheltenham, for example, in a wet season the water will gush forth at the rate of 200,000 or 300,000 gallons a day, whereas in a dry summer the flow from each spring is little more than a trickle.

These variations are caused by the differences in the extent and depth of the area from which the springs are fed—the catchment area, as it is called. At Sierford and at Bibury the area, or "sponge," is very large and very thick, and in a wet season absorbs so much water that a dry season is never long enough for all the water to be drained from it. At the Seven Springs the catchment area is small, and the bed of porous rock comparatively thin, and consequently in a dry season the supply from the "sponge" soon becomes exhausted.

At first sight, it seems difficult to understand how water can soak through great thicknesses of hard rock, such as the limestones of the Cotswold Hills, or the still harder rocks in the Forest of Dean or around Mangotsfield. But if you examine a quarry carefully, you will usually see a number of cracks, of various sizes, and it is mainly down these that the rain makes its way until it comes to a bed of clay or other non-porous rock, below

which it cannot go. The Churn is a striking illustration of the manner in which water can get down through even hard rocks. Many years ago the flow of water in this river was measured at various points of its course. At the Seven Springs, the source of the Churn, the flow was at the rate of about 100,000 gallons per day. For the first five miles of its course the river is joined by several small streams, and runs over a bed of clay; and near the village of Rendcombe the flow was found to be nearly three millions a day. After leaving Rendcombe, the river passes over limestone rock, and the flow rapidly diminishes. At Cirencester it was found to be less than 300,000 gallons a day, and at Siddington, two miles beyond, the quantity of water passing was less than that given out at the Seven Springs. In a distance of eight miles nearly three million gallons every day soaked through hard limestone rock, and completely disappeared from view. Some idea of this quantity may be learned from the fact that it is enough to supply all the people in the city of Gloucester and the town of Cheltenham.

#### CHAPTER III.

How RAIN GOES BACK TO THE OCEAN.

WE have now seen where the rain that falls in Gloucestershire comes from, and how it forms springs, fills wells, and makes streams and rivers. Let us next find out where the rain ultimately goes.

We may see the process of river-making on a small scale if we watch what happens on a gently-sloping road during a storm of rain. At the top of the slope the water gathers into tiny runnels, which flow in various directions downwards, owing to the uneven surface of the road. Further down the slope these little runnels

unite and form larger ones; and beyond the foot of the slope all the water runs away in one or more streamlets. What thus happens in a small way on a sloping road is exactly what happens on a very large scale over a large area of land. Streams join small rivers, and small rivers join large rivers.

Now, if we trace the course of the streams and rivers in the county of Gloucester, we shall find that all of them unite with one or the other of two great rivers,

and those the two longest rivers in England.

The accompanying map of the river system of Gloucestershire\* shows this feature very plainly. Let us try to find its explanation. One of the sources of the river Thames is the water which flows out of the earth at the Seven Springs. Only a quarter of a mile away you may stand on the edge of a range of hills, and look down into the Valley of the Severn. Why is it the water from the Seven Springs does not flow into this valley? The answer is:—Because the land slopes in the opposite direction, and as the water follows the slope, it flows away from the Severn Valley instead of towards it.

Just as the river which rises at the Seven Springs runs eastward to the Thames because the land slopes in that direction, so also do all the streams and rivers in the northern area of the Cotswold Hills. The river which comes from what is commonly known as "Thames Head," four miles from Cirencester; the brooks which flow through the Ampneys and Maisev Hampton; the Coln, which rises at Charlton Abbots, near the summit of the hills overlooking Winchcombe; the Leach, which starts from some springs at Northleach; the Windrush, formed by three streams which rise a short distance to the north of Guiting Power, and at Bourton-on-the-Water, is joined by the Dickler, which passes Stow-onthe-Wold; the Evenlode, which runs south from Moreton-in-Marsh for a few miles, and then goes eastward: -all these rivers and tributary streams flow into the Thames, because the area of land from which their waters are gathered slopes in an easterly or southeasterly direction. The southern boundary of this large

<sup>\*</sup> See Map at end of Book.

watershed runs in a zigzag line along high ground from near Birdlip, through Cirencester, to the border of Wiltshire. The western boundary of the watershed is the edge of the Cotswold table-land which winds from Birdlip past Leckhampton, Cleeve, Charlton Abbots, and Stanway to Chipping Campden.

The parting line between these two watersheds is in some places so sharply defined that it is almost possible to stand with one foot in the watershed of the Thames

and the other in the watershed of the Severn.

The quantity of water which is poured into the Thames from this large area is about a hundred million gallons per day. At Teddington, nineteen miles above London Bridge, about 300 million gallons flow over the Thames weir every summer day, and about one-third of this quantity is supplied by rain which has fallen in the north-eastern district of the county of Gloucester.

All the rain which falls in the remainder of the county finds its way into the Severn. From Winchcombe northward a large area is drained by the river Isbourne, which runs into the Avon at Evesham, but that river also, after winding about for several miles, joins the Severn at Tewkesbury. Between Cleeve Hill and the mouth of the Stroud Valley are the Swilgate, the Chelt, and the Twyver; the Stroud Valley and the slopes of the adjacent hills form the watershed of the River Frome; the Cam collects water from the Dursley valley; several other streams, including the Little Avon, Boyd, and Frome, drain the area between Berkeley and Bristol; and all find their way to the River Severn. In the southern area of the Cotswolds a few small streams join the Avon, which, in turn, flows past Bristol into the Severn estuary.

On its western side the chief tributaries of the Severn are the Leadon, which enters it near Gloucester, the streams which run down the valley past Mitcheldean and Longhope, and several brooks which drain the greater part of the Forest of Dean. On the western side of the Forest area a good deal of water finds its way into the Wye, but that river joins the Severn a mile below the town of Chepstow.

We are now able to give an answer to the question, What becomes of all the rain that falls in the county of Gloucester? The answer is, that some of it goes into the Thames, and thence into the sea, and the rest flows down the Severn into the Bristol Channel, and onwards to the Atlantic Ocean. Thus do we see in this county that, as noticed long ago, "All the rivers run into the sea, yet the sea is not full; unto the place from whence the rivers come, thither they return again."—(Ecclesiastes i., 7.)

#### CHAPTER IV.

#### How the Land is Worn Away.

The water in the River Severn is usually dirty-looking. If a bucket-full of it stands for a few hours it becomes clear, and the bottom of the bucket is coated with mud. A few miles below Gloucester, where the Severn broadens into a very wide river, there are great banks of mud. These banks have been formed mainly by the mud carried in the water settling down when the river runs slowly, just as sediment forms in the bucket when dirty water in it is allowed to stand. Exactly the same kind of thing may be seen in nearly all the rivers that run into the Severn. Even small streams are muddy during and immediately after heavy rain, and they do not get clear again until the mud has been carried away or allowed to settle on the sides and bottoms of the beds in which the streams flow.

The rocks found in a very large portion of the watershed of the Upper Severn are not porous, and after heavy rain the tributaries of the Severn become full. As the river approaches Worcester more and more water from its tributaries is poured into it, and if the rain be continuous for several days the river overflows its banks.

It often happens during the Winter that from above Tewkesbury to below Gloucester the fields are flooded for a considerable distance on both sides of the Severn. One reason for this overflow is that the bed of the river is not large enough to carry the water away towards the Bristol Channel. Another reason is that the lower part of the Severn Valley is covered with a very thick bed of clay, and as the water cannot sink into the clay, it has to stay on the land until the river is low enough for it to flow off in the river bed. Every river in this county that runs into the Severn on its eastern side\* has to cross a wide stretch of clay, and so also have some of those that run into it on its western side; hence they are largely fed by rain that has fallen on a soil which is easily made into mud, and consequently the water quickly becomes dirty.

Unlike the Severn, the Thames, as it runs through Gloucestershire, is seldom very muddy, and then only for a short time after heavy rain. Its tributaries, too, do not carry much mud into it. The Windrush is always beautifully clear, and so, as a rule, is the Churn. Michael Drayton, a Warwickshire poet, three hundred years ago wrote some famous books of poems (under the title of *Poly-Olbion*), in which he noted the swiftness and clear-

ness of two more Cotswold rivers:-

Cleere Colne and lively Leche so down from Coteswold's Plaine At Lechlade linking hands, come likewise to support The mother of great Thames.

But although the rivers that feed the Thames do not carry much sand and mud into it, they, like the rivers that flow into the Severn, are always at work wearing away the land. The Cotswold cottager knows from experience that after a kettle has been in use for some time it becomes "furred," that is, the inside is covered with a coating of lime. The Cotswold washerwoman also knows that the water from a spring or well is not

<sup>\*</sup> We might call it the left bank, for geographers call a bank right or left according to its position when the source of the river is at your back.

good water for washing clothes, and she much prefers the rain-water, which may be caught from the roofs of buildings. If you ask her why, she will tell you that the water from the spring or well is "hard," while the rain-water is "soft." The hardness of the water and the "fur" in the kettle both arise from the same cause: the presence in the water of a quantity of lime.

A little study will show us how the lime gets into the water. Nearly all the Cotswold rocks are formed of limestone. When rain falls upon limestone, some of the lime is dissolved out of it by the rain; and as the water flows away it carries lime with it. You may often see this process on a road which is made of Cotswold stone. After heavy rain the surface of the road becomes muddy, and the water that runs from it is extremely dirty. Much of this dirt will in time sink to the ground over which the little streamlet runs, but even when the water becomes quite clear some lime is contained in it. And just as rain falling upon a limestone road absorbs and carries away lime from the road, so rain falling upon the land of the Cotswolds dissolves lime from out of the soil and rocks, and carries it away into brooks and rivers, and ultimately into the Thames.

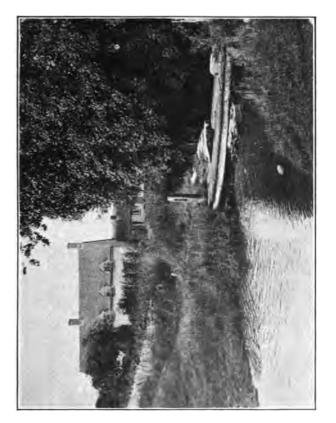
It is not, however, by merely falling on and running off the land that rain washes out lime from limestone rocks. A Cotswold washerwoman who gets washingwater from a river knows that after heavy rain the river-water is not so hard as it is after a continuance of dry weather. The difference is due to the time during which the rain water and the spring water in the river have been in contact with the limestone, from which the hardness is derived. The rain that slowly soaks through the limestone ground is all the time exerting its solvent action upon the rocks, and when it reappears in a spring it is highly charged with lime; and when the river only contains water that has come from springs. the water is very hard. The rain that falls upon the surface of the ground and quickly flows off again has very little solvent action upon the limestone rocks, and is consequently much less hard than the water from a

spring. When, therefore, a river which is fed by springs from limestone rocks is suddenly swollen by rain flowing off the surface of the land, the water becomes much less hard than it was when the river was fed by springs only.

We may illustrate this difference between the hardness of spring and rain water by a homely experiment. If we put two or three lumps of sugar into a cup, and then fill the cup with tea, and allow it to remain until all the sugar is dissolved, the tea is made sweet. If we put two or three lumps of sugar into a saucer, and pour a cup of tea quickly over them without allowing it to stand upon them, the tea is not sweet. If the two cups of tea be put together in a jug, the tea is much less sweet than the tea from the cup in which all the sugar had been dissolved. The sweetened cup of tea may be compared to the hard water from the spring; the rain that has flowed over the land may be compared to the cup of tea which has simply been poured into and out of a saucer containing sugar; and the swollen river may be likened to the two cups of tea mixed in a jug.

The solvent action of underground water is always going on, and thus the Cotswold Hills are constantly being slowly and silently worn away. Every 300 gallons of water that comes from a Cotswold spring contains about a pound weight of lime held in solution. It has been calculated that about 100 tons of solid matter, chiefly lime, is carried by the Thames past Lechlade every twenty-four hours. Scarcely any of this lime is visible to the naked eye, but it is just as really in the water as a lump of sugar is in a cup of tea in which it has been dissolved.

Thus rain and rivers are ever at work wearing away Gloucestershire land, and carrying it into the sea. The process, it is true, is a slow one. When the Romans first came into this county, nearly two thousand years ago, they saw the Cotswold Hills, the Severn Valley, and the Forest of Dean very much as we see them to-day. But in the story of the earth a thousand years "are but as yesterday when it is past, and as a watch in the night."



A Cotswold Brook-Hilcot.



THE "BORE" ON THE SEVERN.

#### CHAPTER V.

#### How New Land is Made.

WE now want to consider the question, What becomes of the sand, mud, and lime which are always being carried away from this county by the Thames and the Severn?

Let us suppose we are standing on one of the banks of the Severn near to the great railway-bridge which spans the river at Sharpness, fifteen miles south-west of Gloucester. For the greater part of the day what we see is a river-bed, with the river flowing in a narrow channel near the western shore, and the rest of the riverbed a broad tract of sand and mud. Once in every twelve hours, however, the current of the river is checked, and instead of flowing downwards towards the sea, the river runs upwards towards the city of Gloucester. This reversal of the movement of the water is very sudden; and in a few minutes after it has occurred, the Severn, instead of being confined to a narrow channel, becomes a river nearly a mile wide. Twice a month. two days after the new moon, and two days after the full moon,—the river becomes much deeper than at other times. Twice a year, too,—in April and September, it becomes much deeper than at any other period of the year, the difference in its level between low water and high water then being about thirty feet. At such times the river rushes inland at the rate of twenty miles an hour, forming what is called a "bore," and when backed by a strong south-westerly wind the river is like a rolling sea. In about an hour the upward movement of the water has spent itself, and the downward current of the river is resumed; and an hour or two afterwards the Severn-bed again consists of a narrow river and a broad tract of sand and mud.

This forward and backward movement of the water may be seen in the Thames as well as in the lower reaches of the Severn. Standing on London Bridge, you see at one part of the day or night the water flowing towards the sea, and at another part of the day running up the river in the direction of Oxford. Beneath the bridge the river is sometimes thirty feet deep, and at other times only twelve feet.

All the solid matter brought down to the lower parts of the Thames and Severn is subjected to the forward and backward movements of the water which we call tides. Some of it is deposited on the shores of the rivers in the form of sand or mud, but the greater part of it is carried into the sea. The heavier particles fall near the land, but the lighter ones are caught up by the waves and drifted far away. On the shores, too, the waves are always at work grinding the sand smaller and smaller, until it is easily swept long distances by the action of the ocean currents. Then by degrees the sand or mud quietly falls until it reaches the bottom of the sea, where it finally comes to rest.

But it is not only sand and mud that thus forms a deposit upon the ocean floor. The sea abounds with life, from the whale, a hundred or more feet long, to the creature so small that it cannot be seen with the naked eye. When fish die they fall to the bottom of the sea. There the softer parts of their bodies are gradually dissolved by the sea water, but the shells and bones become by degrees covered by sand or mud, and are thus preserved from destruction.

Now let us find out what becomes of the lime which the Thames and Severn are always pouring into the sea.

Water is for life in the sea what air is for life on land. We live in air, we cannot live without air, but we do not live on air. Fish live in water, they cannot live out of water, but they do not live on water. If fish were put into absolutely pure water, and had nothing else to live on, they would soon die, just as we should die if we had to live only on air. We require food to make blood, flesh, muscle, and bone; and so do fish. Our food consists of what grows from the ground, or of the flesh of animals which live on what the ground produces. Fish get their food from what

is contained in water. The large fish, it is true, eat smaller fish, just as some land animals, such as the lion and tiger, eat smaller animals; but small fish have to get their food from water, just as small animals have to get their food, directly or indirectly, from the ground. Our bones mainly consist of lime, and we take lime into our bodies when we eat and drink. Fish also require lime. The shells of shell-fish consist almost entirely of lime, and there is also a great deal of lime in the bones of fish without shells; and fish take lime into their bodies with other food which they get from water.

Fish are not the only forms of life which exist in the sea, and require lime. On many coasts there live small creatures called coral polypes. In shape and appearance they are somewhat like the head of a daisy. The greater part of the body is quite soft, but the lower part has a hard covering made of lime, which it extracts from the water. In the warm waters of the sea these creatures exist in countless millions. When they die their skeletons fall to the bottom of the sea, and form masses of rock entirely composed of coral remains. Upon this rock other coral polypes live and die, and by degrees beds of coral rock are built up which in the Southern Pacific rise above the sea for hundreds of miles in length. There are also in the sea creatures far, far smaller than coral polypes, which also require lime to enable them to live. Some portions of the ocean bed, hundreds of miles from land, are covered with a thick deposit, consisting mainly of lime. To the touch and sight it is like soft, creamy mud, but looked at under a microscope it is seen to be made up of shells and other hard portions of creatures so small that they cannot be seen with the naked eve.

We are now able to give an answer to the question with which this chapter opened, What becomes of the sand, mud and lime which are always being carried away from this county by the Thames and the Severn? The sand and clay washed from the fields by every storm, the lime contained in the water from every spring

ultimately find their way into the sea. Day after day, year after year, this process of destruction goes on; and, as we shall see in the next chapter, the grains of sand, clay and lime worn from the county of Gloucester by rain and rivers, find a resting-place on the sea-floor, and there become what the poet Tennyson calls "The dust of continents to be."

## CHAPTER VI.

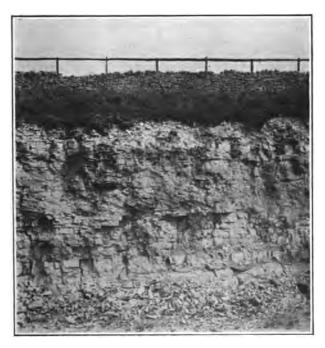
HOW COTSWOLD AND VALE ROCKS WERE FORMED.

In one of his poems, Wordsworth tells a tale of Peter Bell, who roved about the country without seeing its beauty or learning any of its lessons.

In vain, through every changeful year, Did nature lead him, as before:
A primrose by a river's brim
A yellow primrose was to him,
And it was nothing more.

To most people a quarry is like the primrose was to Peter Bell, a quarry and nothing more. It is from quarries, however, that we learn what happens to the sand and mud and lime which the rivers of Gloucestershire are always carrying into the sea.

Let us look at a Cotswold quarry, such as that of which a photograph is given on the opposite page. The first thing we notice is that it is built up of a series of beds resting one on the top of the other. Some of the beds are two or three feet thick, others are merely thin layers. If we pour a drop of acid upon a piece of the stone—taking care not to burn our fingers with the acid—it immediately begins to "fizz." This proves that the rock contains lime, for whenever an acid is brought into contact with lime a chemical change takes place which shows itself by effervescence. Next, by looking closely we see that some of the rock is made up of rounded



A COTSWOLD QUARRY.



QUARRY AT LECKHAMPTON HILL.

grains, which in certain beds are as small as the roe of a herring. All the beds in the quarry, in fact, consist of little round grains of lime cemented together so as to form stone. They are commonly known as "freestone" beds, because the stone in them may be easily cut with the saw for building-purposes. Owing to their likeness to the roe of a fish, the geologist calls them "oolite" beds, from two Greek words, oon, an egg, and lithos, stone.

On another page is a photograph of a quarry at Leckhampton Hill, near Cheltenham. Here also is a series of beds resting one on top of the other, with a total thickness of about 250 feet, and all composed mainly of lime. The freestone beds are similar to those in the quarry near Birdlip, but the lower beds are made up of spherules as large as peas, and hence their name, "Pea-grit." Between the upper and lower freestones there is a bed, about ten feet thick, which contains a small amount of clay and other materials not found in the freestones, and goes under the name of "Oolite Marl."

The photograph shows only about a third of the full height of the hill, for the top of it is nearly 1,000 feet above the level of the sea. Below the part photographed are deposits of clay and marlstone, and lowest of all is an accumulation of blue clay, the thickness of which is not known because the bottom of it has never been reached in digging.

Turning to the Severn Valley, we find that from the north-eastern boundary of the county down to the neighbourhood of Wotton-under-Edge, nearly the whole of the plain between the foot of the Cotswolds and the River Severn is covered with this same bluish clay—the Lower Lias clay.

If we ask ourselves how these beds of clay, sandstone, marlstone, and limestone were formed, there is no difficulty in answering the question when we remember what is happening on the floor of the sea at the present time. All the beds were formed by the deposition in water of mud, sand, and lime, in exactly the same way that mud, sand, and lime are being deposited in the sea by the Thames and Severn.

If we want further proof of the aqueous origin of

these rocks, we may easily find it.

Almost every bed in the Cotswold Hills contains what are known as "fossils." In some beds they are somewhat rare; in others they are as abundant as plums in a good Christmas pudding. The Oolite Marl, for instance, is crowded with shells of various species of shell-fish, and in some districts a bed is exposed which is full of the cake-like sea urchin of which a picture is given on an adjoining page. One kind of fossil—of the kind there numbered 3-is found in nearly all the Cotswold rocks. It varies very much in size, sometimes being smaller than a threepenny bit, and sometimes so large and heavy that even a strong man cannot lift it. There are several species of this fossil, which is called an ammonite, and so singular is its distribution that usually in each of the many beds one particular species of ammonite is far more abundant than any other. Another feature of the Cotswold rocks is the occurrence in a few places of beds containing corals very much like those in the coral reefs which are being formed in the southern seas to-day. And the remains of life are not confined to what may be seen with the naked eye. Each grain of Pea-grit is made up of the fossilised skeletons of worm-like creatures which wound themselves round a speck of solid matter.

Many other kinds of fossils are very abundant. Among them are the remains of Saurians, huge lizard-like creatures, sometimes thirty or forty feet in length. West of the Severn, from above Tewkesbury down to Newnham, the Valley rocks consist of very red marls, with occasional sandstones: the latter contain a few fossils, but of a different character from those on the eastern side of the river. Rising out of this plain, about eight miles west of Gloucester, is the dome-shaped May Hill, 900 feet high, made up of beds of sandstone, limestone, and shale, with fossils differing in character from those found in the rocks already mentioned.

In the lower part of the Severn Valley, on the eastern side of the river, is an extensive coal-field, the formation of which will be understood when we come to consider, as we now must, the rocks in the Forest of Dean.

## CHAPTER VII.

## How Coal was formed.

Many of the rocks in the Forest of Dean were formed in the same way as the rocks on the Cotswold Hills and in the Severn Valley. They consist of beds of sandstone, shale, and limestone, which were deposited at the bottom of a sea, and contain a great variety of fossil remains of shell-fish. But in the Forest of Dean, and in a narrow strip in the south-eastern part of the Severn Valley, there are also a number of beds formed of the remains of plants. These beds are beds of coal.

If you look closely at a lump of coal you may see that it consists of thin parallel layers. It splits easily by striking it on the side where the edges of the layers are seen; and a lump burns more quickly if it is set with the layers upright than it does if it is placed with the bottom layer flat upon the fire, because the heat easily splits it into thin slabs. We thus see that in one respect coal is like all water-formed rocks, namely, that it was formed by the deposition of one layer upon another. If we were to go down a coal-pit, we should also see that coal occurs in seams, which in the Forest of Dean vary in thickness from two or three inches to nearly five feet. If we looked more closely we should find that under each seam is a bed of clay which often contains blackened forms of ferns and string-like roots of plants. Occasionally, too, we may see the trunk of a tree, the inside consisting of stony matter, and the bark turned into coal.

These facts show that each seam of coal is made up of vegetation which grew upon a bed of clay. Now let us try to find out what the vegetation consisted of,

and its mode of growth.

The trees that grew in a coal-forest were very different from the trees which grow in England to-day. Some of them were very much like the little plants called club-mosses and horse-tails, but instead of being, like them, small herbs, they were gigantic trees, sometimes a hundred feet high. They were flowerless, as our ferns are, and therefore did not bear seeds: instead they bore spores, just as our ferns do on the under side of their fronds. Besides these trees, there were conebearing trees something like our modern pines, and a number of kinds of ferns and plants allied to ferns, some of them similar to those now living. An examination of coal under the microscope shows that the trees and larger plants form but a small portion of its structure. The greater part of it is made up of the spores and spore-cases of the giant club-mosses and horse-tails. first sight it seems almost incredible that thick beds of coal, covering many miles in area, should have been formed by minute objects scarcely larger than a pin's head! Yet it is not more strange than the fact we have previously learned, that still smaller things are forming thick beds of ooze at the bottom of the deep ocean to-day. And if we cross the eastern boundary of our county into Oxfordshire, Berkshire, or Wiltshire, we see a long line of chalk hills almost entirely made up of remains of the minute creatures which existed in the sea at the bottom of which the chalk was deposited.

A little exercise of the imagination enables us to get a fairly accurate idea of how the Forest of Dean coal-field was formed. At some far-off time, long before even the rocks of the Cotswold Hills were formed, a large area which included what is now the Forest of Dean was covered with swamps of deep mud. The atmosphere was warm, probably much warmer than it is in the tropics to-day. Under such conditions vegetation was luxuriant and rapid in growth. Year after year leaves and fern

fronds and stems of trees fell in great profusion upon the soil, and over all there was an almost endless shower of spores and spore-cases from the great tree mosses. Decay, like growth, was rapid, and by degrees a considerable thickness of almost pure vegetable soil accumulated. At this comparatively early stage of the earth's history there was a constant up-and-down movement of the land. By slow subsidence the forest sank into the waters of a river or sea, and in the course of time was buried beneath the deposits of sand and mud. With an upward movement of the land the conditions of forest life were resumed; again a thick layer of vegetable soil accumulated, and the process of subsidence, deposition, and re-appearance was repeated. In the Dean Forest area there are no fewer than thirty-one seams of coal, all of which were formed in this manner. While one of these layers was being deposited, a small rivulet cut its way through the decaying vegetation, and when the whole layer sank beneath the water, the channel was filled with mud. The colliers who dig coal from this layer, which is known as the Coleford High Delf seam, here and there find it broken through by this channel, filled with mud instead of coal.

Pressure of overlying rocks and the changes which time bring about have converted the vegetation into coal. Thus—

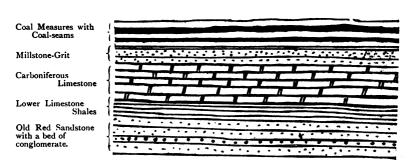
'Tis' the sun's old heat that cooks our meat,
'Tis his bottled-up beam that gives us our steam,

for when coal burns it gives back the light and heat received from the sun while passing its infant years in an ancient forest.

The movements of the land were continued long after the Gloucestershire coal-fields came into existence. Had the Forest of Dean beds remained as they were originally formed, they would have been piled one over the other like the leaves of a book lying flat upon a table. Instead of being in that position, they lie in a heart-shaped basin, the bottom and sides of which are made of limestone rocks much older than the coal itself.

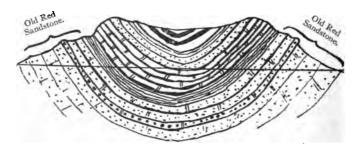
## THE FOREST OF DEAN COALFIELD.

Diagram to illustrate the arrangement of Coal-seams and underlying beds as originally laid down.



## Diagram to illustrate how the Coal-seams and underlying beds have been bent.

Coal-basin.



One consequence of this arrangement is that at some parts of the edge of the basin the lower coal seams crop out at the surface, and may be worked by driving a heading and following the "dip"; while in the centre of the basin the same beds can only be reached by sinking shafts several hundred feet in depth. The Bristol coalfield, which extends into Gloucestershire as far north as Tortworth, has undergone similar disturbance. It may be that the Forest and Bristol coal-fields were connected with other coal-fields which were swept away in the violent changes caused by the bending of horizontal beds into basins. It is the pleasure of the geologist to find out what he can of these and other changes in the earth's story, for they unfold to him what Tennyson truly calls "The fairy tale of Science, and the long results of Time."

## CHAPTER VIII.

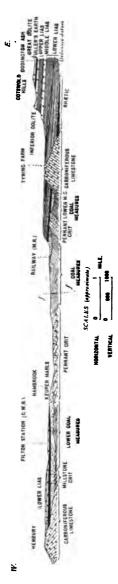
## THE ROCK-HISTORY OF GLOUCESTERSHIRE.

WE have now learned what rain is doing and has done besides supplying us with water to drink and plants with water to enable them to grow. We see that it dissolves rocks as it passes over and through them, and that the streams and rivers it forms grind away the sides and beds of the valleys along which they flow. We see that the Thames and the Severn are always carrying into the sea, sand, mud and lime formed by the wear and tear of the land by rain and rivers, and that this sand, mud, and lime are slowly deposited at the bottom of the sea, and forms new land. We see that this process of destruction of dry land and construction of new land on the ocean floor has been going on for long ages, and that to the many changes thus caused we owe the

different kinds of rocks which Gloucestershire contains. We see that beds of rock which were quite flat when they were laid down under water have been bent and crumpled by violent pressure of the earth's crust. Almost every kind of rock in Gloucestershire that can be seen was formed by the wearing away of rocks that existed before it. Let us now try to trace, stage by stage, what we may call the rock-history of our county.

We can best make a start in this study by going a few miles over the north-west border of Gloucestershire and climbing the Malvern Hills. The rocks forming the Malvern range are totally different from any we can see in this county. They were not laid down in water, and they do not contain any fossils. They are called "igneous" rocks, that is, rocks which have been formed by the action of fire deep down in the earth. They are a fragment of the earliest land of which anything is known. The sea beat upon and broke up the coast, as it has done all coasts since, and the rain dissolved its rocks further inland, and rivers transported the matter into the ocean. The process of destruction must have been exceedingly slow, for, as may be seen in the Malverns to-day, the rocks were extremely hard, and long resisted the solvent action of water. degrees, however, the rain and waves did wear away this early land, and new land was slowly built up at the bottom of the sea. On the shore great pebble-beaches were formed; further out to sea the waves dropped grains of sand which in course of time formed sandbeds; and far away from land the light mud-particles slowly settled upon the sea-floor. In these early seas there lived star-fishes, the prickly little things known as sea-urchins, and creatures something like our modern shrimps. Most abundant of all was a shell-fish which. having three lobes, like the woodlouse, is called a trilobite, and which was an ancient relative of our king-crab. When these creatures died, their bodies fell to the bottom of the sea, and the hard portions were preserved in sand and mud. In course of time the pebbles of the beaches formed a solid mass, the sand-beds became solidified into

# SECTION OF ROCKS FROM HENBURY TO DODDINGTON.



Horizontal Scale—About half-inch to mile.

## SECTION OF ROCKS ACROSS THE FOREST OF DEAN.



Horizontal Scale—About half-inch to a mile.

hard sandstones, the great areas of mud were converted into shale and slate, and the whole became dry land. Beds of sandstone and shale thus formed may be seen on the western side of the Malvern range, and contain the fossilised remains of some of the earliest living things vet known to have existed on the earth. which the earliest sea wore away are known to the geologist as Archæan (from the Greek word archaios. ancient). Some of the rocks formed by the destruction of these are spread over a large part of Wales, and are called CAMBRIAN, after the ancient name of the northern part of the Welsh kingdom; later ones are named Ordovician, after the name of a people who in ancient times lived in North Wales. Land composed of these rocks in turn became the prey of rain, rivers, and sea. As had previously happened, too, the construction of new land went on alongside the destruction of the old. In the sea in which this new land was formed, trilobites were still abundant, as they were in the Cambrian seas. but in addition there were shell-fish and other forms of life known as graptolites, and true fishes made their appearance. There are, however, no remains of reptiles, birds, or quadrupeds, nothing, in fact, to show that there was animal life on land as well as in the sea.

For rocks of this type in Gloucestershire we may go to May Hill, seven miles west of Gloucester, a domeshaped height, with a clump of trees crowning its summit, and a conspicuous object in the western landscape as seen from almost any point along the edge of the Cotswolds. The May Hill rocks consist of limestones, grey and yellowish sandstones, grits, and shales. But the beds do not lie flat over each other as do those on the Cotswolds. Near the top of the hill, on one side, you walk over certain deposits of shale and limestone; on the summit you stand upon a broad area of sandstone; and as you descend the hill on the other side you cross those same deposits of shale and limestone again. These patches of shale and limestone once were continuous, and lay flat over the sandstone at the bottom of a sea. At some subsequent time earth-pressures bent them into the form of an arch, and afterwards the crown of the arch was planed off, as it were, cutting the beds of shale and limestone into two separate parts.

Some of the great changes that have taken place since this period of the earth's history may also be traced in another part of the county of Gloucester. Twelve miles due south of May Hill is Tite's Point, a piece of land which projects into the Severn just above Sharpness, and causes a sudden narrowing of the riverbed. From Tite's Point down past Berkeley Castle to Tortworth runs a band of rocks seven miles long and about two miles wide; and from Tortworth to Charfield, three miles further south, rocks belonging to the same system continue, about a mile in width. Here, too, as at May Hill, the beds have been much bent and twisted. The rocks in this band are of exactly the same character and age as rocks seen at May Hill: all belong to what is termed the SILURIAN system (so named after an ancient race in South Wales); all were laid down during the same period; and at May Hill and in this small area south of the Severn are rocks of the same kind as those which still extend through the heart of Wales from the northern coast almost to Carmarthen Bay.

The earth-pressures which bent the beds of May Hill and the Tortworth area caused deep depressions in the floor of the sea on which these beds had been deposited; and when the Silurian sea-bed was slowly lifted above the level of the waters, great inland lakes or seas were formed. Either one of these lakes or a bay-like indentation,—for Mr. Richardson has recently written, "at present the view that the Herefordshire Old Red was formed in a bay seems the most probable . . ," covered the counties of Hereford, Monmouth, and Brecknock, and the part of Gloucestershire west of a line drawn from Newent to Bristol was on its eastern shore. Year after year, century after century, the waves beat upon the shore as it gradually sank beneath the sea, making mile upon mile of pebble beaches, and grinding the pebbles into grains of sand and mud, to be carried into the middle of the area of deposition, and

there allowed slowly to sink to the bottom. Herefordshire and South Wales the sand and mud thus deposited reached the enormous thickness of nearly a . mile and a half. This was the middle of the great expanse of water, and therefore the deepest part. Gloucestershire shore-conditions are indicated by pebbles cemented into masses of what the geologist calls "conglomerate" and the quarryman "pudding-stone." The fossil contents of the rocks show that on the land worn away and carried into the lake, ferns, conifers, and other plants lived, and insects related to our dragonflies and may-flies flitted through the air. waters, mostly, if not entirely, the fish were freshwater species. All the rocks thus formed are red in colour, and as most of them are sandy in character, the whole series are termed the OLD RED SANDSTONE. The colouring material is iron. Each grain of sand became coated with iron, and the redness is caused by a combination of iron and oxygen, to which the scientist gives the name "oxide of iron," and which is known to everybody as rust. Their red colour makes the Old Red Sandstone rocks easily recognisable: they cover the valley from Grange Court to Ross, and occur in patches between Sharpness Point and Thornbury; but care is necessary to distinguish them from another series of red-coloured rocks very near to them, and which will presently be described.

While this bay-like expanse was being filled up, the land was slowly sinking, and in course of time a large part, if not the whole, of the county of Gloucester was covered by the sea. Once more the process of land destruction and land construction went on. For a long time the deposit at the bottom of this sea consisted almost entirely of mud, formed by the wearing away of land to the north and west. Mixed with it were the shelly remains of various kinds of shell-fish, corals, sealilies, the bones and teeth of fishes, and a few remains of plants. This mud is now a shale, blue, greenish-grey, and brown. In the Forest of Dean it is about 250 feet thick, and may be seen in a number of places around the

edge of the Forest area; at Wickwar it is 320 feet thick; in the gorge of the Bristol Avon it is about the same, and the beds are in a tilted position.

In course of time the water over the Gloucestershire area became clear, and upon the sea-floor a sediment was formed consisting almost entirely of the remains Corals, sea-lilies, shell-fish, creatures of of sea-life. microscopic size, are crowded and cemented together in a rock which in the Forest of Dean is about 645 feet thick; but in the Bristol coal-field considerably more. We know it as MOUNTAIN LIMESTONE, a hard and bluish grey stone, streaked here and there with light-coloured material, commonly called "spar," but more scientifically "calcite." In some parts of the county this Mountain Limestone is largely used for mending roads, but it must not be confused with the dark, heavy basalt used for the same purpose which comes from the Clee Hills, in Shropshire. We walk or ride over roads coated with this Mountain Limestone, seldom thinking that, as the poet Montgomery says-

> By wafting winds and flooding rains, From ocean, earth and sky, • Collected here the frail remains Of slumbering millions lie.

After this thick deposit of marine life had accumulated, a change in land-level brought the part of the sea covering Gloucestershire nearer to the coast. result the waters became once more clouded with mud and silt, and occasional freshets of sand. Then, by degrees, sand alone was brought into the sea, and for a period long enough to allow nearly 500 feet to be deposited. To-day this deposit is known as the MILL-STONE GRIT, because from its hard, gritty nature it is often used as stones for grinding corn: in the Kingswood district, near Bristol, it is often called "Wick flint." This thick accumulation of sand seems to have converted the sea into an extensive swamp, with shallow lakes. Combined with a warm climate, these were exactly the conditions required for the growth of a tropical forest, and the formation of bed after bed of decaying vegetation

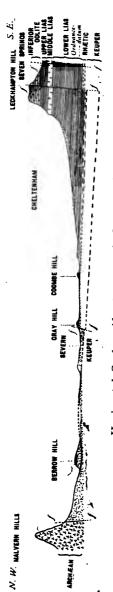
alternated with beds of clay, sand, and lime. And thus it came to pass that the coal seams of the Forest of Dean and the Bristol coalfield were formed in the manner described in the previous chapter.

## CHAPTER IX.

## THE ROCK-HISTORY OF GLOUCESTERSHIRE. (Continued.)

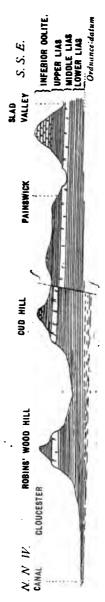
After the coal-beds had been formed there was a great disturbance of the earth's crust. We may get an idea of the character of this disturbance by a simple illustra-If we put half-a-dozen pieces of cloth, say six inches square, of different colours, upon a table, and then press the edges towards the centre, the cloth will fold into ridges and hollows. Let the pieces of cloth represent beds of rock laid horizontally, and let the pressure at the edges represent the pressure to which the rocks were subjected, and we may get some idea of the way in which the rocks have from time to time been folded. The illustration is, however, imperfect, because, although it shows the effect of the pressure, it does not show the cause. We may get a better idea of the cause of the pressure with the aid of a football. When the ball is fully blown, the leather case is tight and smooth. If some of the air is let out, and the neck again tied, the leather-surface has to occupy a smaller lateral extent than it did before. Consequently, it becomes folded, and ridges—miniature mountain ranges, in fact—are formed. In a similar way the shrinking of the earth has caused the crust to be thrown into folds, and that is why horizontal rocks have been bent into ridges and furrows.

To understand this we must remember that the earth is not a cold, rigid body. When the Forest of



Horizontal Scale—About quarter-inch to a mile.

SECTION OF ROCKS FROM GLOUCESTER TO THE SLAD VALLEY.



Horizontal Scale—Three-quarters-of-inch to a mile.

31

Dean collier goes 100 feet deep or more into a mine, he finds the temperature just the same all the year round. He also finds that the deeper he goes the warmer becomes the air, the rate of increase being one degree Fahrenheit for about every 60 feet of depth. If we go to Bath, we find some of the hot springs there yield a never-failing supply of water at a temperature of 120 degrees, hotter, that is, than is comfortable to the hand.

From facts such as these, and also from volcanoes and earthquakes, we know that the interior of the earth is in a highly heated state. When the earth was formed its surface was hot as well as the interior, and ever since it has been gradually losing its heat. As it cooled, its crust has shrunk, just as the skin of an apple shrinks when the juice within it dries up, and the shrinkage has crushed the layers of rock together, crumpling them into folds. Again and again in its history the earth has undergone great disturbances of this character, and one of them occurred after the coal-beds had been deposited.

It was this disturbance that made the Forest of Dean and Bristol COAL-FIELDS into basins, as we see them to-day. The wide-spreading flat layers of lime and sand, and coal and shale, were bent into ridges and furrows, like the ridges and furrows of a freshly-ploughed field. Had they so remained, coal could have been got at the tops of the ridges as well as in the hollows. But they did not so femain. When the area was raised above the sea, rain and rivers began to wear it away, and in course of time the top layers of the ridges, which included the coal seams, were stripped off, while most of the layers in the protected hollows were preserved. We could illustrate this process of denudation, as it is called, if, with a knife, we shaved off the top of the half-dozen pieces of cloth when pressed into ridges and hollows.

During a portion of the time while this denudation was going on, a large part of Gloucestershire, if not the whole of it, was dry land. In the waters surrounding it, pebbles, sand and mud were being deposited which to-day form rocks many hundreds of feet thick, and are known to geologists as the Permian and Bunter beds.



1. TEREBRATULA (LAMP-SHELL), from the Inferior Oolite.



6. Encrinites (Sea-Lily), from the Inferior Oolite.



3. Ammonite, from the Lias.



4. BELEMNITE.

5. GRYPHÆA (EXTINCT OYSTER), from the Lias.

In course of time some portions of Gloucestershire once more became submerged, this time in a great salt lake, and once more the process of rock-making went on. The strata now laid down consisted of marls and a small amount of sandstone, the former containing a good deal of iron, which gives the deposit a strong red colour. We do not know how large a portion of the county these deposits occupied, because some have been covered up by the Cotswold rocks, which were formed at a later time, and some have since been swept away. There are, however, patches of these rocks, known as KEUPER, within a narrow area which stretches in almost a straight line from Newent to Bristol, and they are well exposed in the Severn-side cliffs at the Mythe Tute, Tewkesbury, and at Wainlode, Garden, Sedbury, and Aust Cliffs.

The conditions under which the Keuper rocks were formed were such as to cause the production of salt, and the rocks themselves are frequently salt-bearing. It is from the Keuper beds that the mineral waters at Cheltenham mainly come. Rain falls upon the Keuper area north of Tewkesbury, finds its way through the beds, and then follows the slant of the strata to the south-east. Coming from a higher elevation than Cheltenham, the water rises to the surface through fissures in the rocks on which Cheltenham stands, and in passing upwards comes in contact with iron, magnesia, and lime, which give the waters the valuable medicinal qualities for which they are well known.

At Wickwar and Yate there is a considerable deposit of a mineral called Celestine, which is now

largely used in sugar-refining.

By slow degrees the land continued to sink, and in course of time the Keuper lake became joined to a sea which lay to the south and south-east. Making their way into a water area which is now the eastern portion of Gloucestershire were numbers of sea-fish, and in one thin bed, in particular, their bones and teeth are found in profusion. By degrees thin beds of clay, sand, and lime were deposited above, apparently very slowly, for they

are crowded with fossils of shell-fish of various kinds, which occur in very thin layers. The land which was worn away to form the higher strata must have been near, for great numbers of dead insects were washed into the sea, and their bony parts are preserved in the limestone deposits. How large an area was covered by this ocean we do not know, but some of the beds formed in it—known as RHÆTIC—with their fossil contents, may be seen on the banks of the Severn at Coombe Hill and Wainlode Cliff (between Gloucester and Tewkesbury), Garden Cliff (Westbury-on-Severn), and Aust Cliff (west of Thornbury, and opposite the mouth of the Wye).

After these Rhætic beds had been deposited, the land continued to sink, and in course of time the whole of Gloucestershire was once more submerged. In this sea there lived great sea-lizards known as Saurians. One of them is thus described by Cuvier, a famous naturalist: "To the head of a lizard it united the teeth of a crocodile, a neck of enormous length, resembling the body of a serpent, a trunk and tail having the proportions of an ordinary quadruped, the ribs of a chameleon, and the paddles of a whale." Commonest among ordinary shell-fish were ammonites (chambered shell-fish, of which the Nautilus is the nearest representative), belemnites (a cuttle-fish with long pointed internal bone), and a small oyster (with a peculiar curved shell) called a "Gryphæa."

In the bottom of this sea was deposited a bed of bluish clay, several hundreds of feet thick, known as Lower Lias, which now covers the greater part of the Severn Valley east of the Severn. Then a change in the kind of land washed by the waves of this Liassic sea changed the nature of sediment brought into the sea, and in its depths there gradually accumulated beds of sand, clay, and marlstone, which the geologist calls MIDDLE Lias. Yet another change caused the deposition of dark blue clays (often very sandy at the top) with

limestone bands, known as UPPER LIAS.

What happened in the Gloucestershire area immediately after these beds had been formed in the Liassic sea is not exactly known. Possibly there were slight upheavals of the sea-floor, causing shallows where little deposition occurred. Then the whole of the county east of May Hill and the Forest of Dean-and possibly that district as well-was once more plunged beneath the ocean. Inch by inch, foot by foot, there was built up on the sea-floor deposits similar in origin and general character to those which are being built up in our ocean depths to-day-deposits known to geologists as the INFERIOR OOLITE. The deposition, however, was not continuous. Occasionally there was a lifting of the sea bed, and the soft ooze was washed away; then subsidence would follow, and more ooze would be deposited. Once during this period there was a sudden change. Instead of a quiet deposition of lime, partly by the wearing of land, partly by the accumulation of the skeletons of small sea-creatures, great rivers brought large quantities of clay into the sea, and formed a deposit now known as Fullers' Earth, because of its value in the "fulling" process in cloth-making. Then the deep-sea conditions were resumed, and lime was deposited in smaller grains than formerly, and the GREAT OOLITE, or Bath stone, was formed. Other formations have since covered it, and been entirely washed away.

Thus from almost the beginning of the earth's rock-history we have proceeded stage by stage until we reach the last chapter but one in the geological record of the making of Gloucestershire. Reflecting on what we have learned, we may in a stanza from Tennyson's In Memoriam sum up the many changes the county has undergone:

The hills are shadows, and they flow
From form to form, and nothing stands;
They melt like mists, the solid lands,
Like clouds they shape themselves and go.

## CHAPTER X.

## How the Hills and Valleys were Formed.

When we understand the action of rain in wearing away land, it is not difficult also to understand how the hills and valleys of this county have been formed. No matter how deep the valleys may be, they have been formed by rain and rivers. The sea acts like a carpenter's plane, making the hills low and the rough places plain. Rain and rivers act like a carpenter's gouge, cutting grooves which become deeper and wider the longer the gouging

process goes on.

Let us take, for example, the Avon, as it flows past Bristol to join the Severa. Standing on Clifton Suspension Bridge, you look down on the river which runs 250 feet below. From one end of the bridge to the other the distance is only 230 yards. You are therefore looking at a deep, narrow gorge. The rocks on one side of it are exactly like the rocks on the other side, and at one time have been continuous; and it is by the wear and tear of the river that the deep gap in the rocks has been cut. The Wye from Symond's Yat to Chepstow is another example. The tall cliffs on either side of the river were once joined together, but in the course of ages the river has by degrees cut its bed deeper and deeper, until now it runs two or three hundred feet below its highest banks.

All the valleys on the Cotswold Hills have been formed in like manner. The Cotswold district may, indeed, be looked upon as a great table-land, with a slight dip to the south-east, in which rivers have scooped out numerous valleys, some of which still carry small

streams, while others are quite dry.

The broadest and deepest valley in Gloucestershire is the Valley of the Severn. From the Malvern range to the hills above Winchcombe it is about twenty miles wide; from the eastern edge of the high land of Qean Forest to Stinchcombe Hill, which is its narrowest part, the Valley has a width of about ten miles; and it is

nearly twenty miles across at the southern border of the county, that is, from the hills north of Bath to the Wve cliffs at Chepstow. The depth of the valley varies. Cleeve Cloud, near Cheltenham, the highest point in Gloucestershire (1.070 feet above sea level), is nearly 1,000 feet higher than Tewkesbury. North and south of Cleeve the hills are lower, but even at their lowest elevation they are about 700 feet above the Vale. We may also measure the depth of the valley at Churchdown Hill and Robins' Wood Hill, both near Gloucester. These hills once formed part of the Cotswold range. although they are now three miles from it, for the rocks they are made of, and the fossils they contain, are exactly the same as the rocks and fossils in the Cotswold Hills. Robins' Wood Hill is 650 feet high; Churchdown is a little lower; and both show that the valley has been cut out to that depth.

We may therefore say that the Severn Valley is about fifteen miles broad, or as wide as the Gloucester and Sharpness Canal is long; and that it is about 800 feet deep, or three times deeper than the Avon gorge at Bristol.

Try to imagine a range of hills forty miles long, fifteen miles across, and eight hundred feet high, and you may get some idea of the mass of land which rain and rivers have taken away from Gloucestershire by

scooping out the Severn Valley.

The next question which suggests itself is:—How was this great mass of land removed? The geologists of a past generation would have told you that it was mainly the work of the sea. In fact, they pictured a time when this great valley was very much like the Bristol Channel is now. From the Cotswold Hills on one side, and the Malverns, May Hill, and the Dean Forest Hills on the other, the valley, they thought, was covered with water, and the hill-sides were twice a day washed by an ebbing and flowing tide. Out in the middle of this great river there rose a line of islands. Northernmost of all was the largest, Bredon Hill; a little south were two smaller islands, Dumbleton and Oxenton; still

further south were Churchdown and Robins' Wood Hills; lower down the valley, and only seen as the water receded, were the peaked and rounded summits of little islands near Cam. After the valley had been scooped out, there was a lifting of the land, and the water in the valley became lower and lower until it almost entirely disappeared.

This is one theory. The other theory, which is widely held at the present time, attributes the excavation of the valley mainly to river action: in other words, it is thought that the Severn and its tributaries are responsible for the broad and fertile vale of Gloucester. Of course, there is no doubt that the rocks we now see in the Cotswold escarpment did extend right across the vale-land, and also that they were overlaid by other rocks of great thickness. There is also very little doubt that the Chalk was one of these rocks, but the seaa deep one-in which this deposit was accumulated was, in Mr. L. Richardson's opinion, the last which extended over Gloucestershire. The seas of certain later geological epochs lay to the south-east. It was on a great Chalk plain dipping gently to the south-east that the river-system of this portion of England was begun.

At first, as Mr. T. S. Ellis pointed out over 25 years ago, it is probable that the main rivers of this system flowed from north-west to south-east to join the principal river which flowed from west to east. were developed as time went on, but then the Severn cutting its way backwards from the south-west captured the north-west to south-east flowing streams and diverted their head-waters to itself. The beheaded streams had then to rise at some point further to the south-east. The Severn (which could give the water a quicker fall to a lower level in a shorter distance) had greater powers of excavating than the slow-flowing Thames tributaries, the waters of which had to flow much further before they could reach the sea. Thus it is thought the lower Severn Valley was excavated and the Cotswold escarpment formed. The isolated hills, such as Churchdown and Robins' Wood, according to this idea, are remnants

of the land which lay between the main rivers, and therefore not worn away so quickly.

A theory as to the course of the Severn was put forward by Mr. T. S. Ellis, of Gloucester, in 1883. His view is that the great curves of the river are due to tributaries opening and keeping open channels which the main stream adopts. More recently he has suggested that curves are often relics of old loops where the short route has been abandoned while the circuitous one has been preserved, because needed for tributaries. He believes that an old arm of the river Severn passed from Framilode to Frampton, now effaced because unnecessary, while the long route, which takes in streams at Westbury, Newnham, Bullo and Box, has been continued.

Since most of the excavating of the Severn Valley was accomplished, there have been some oscillations of the land, but they were not great. A rise in the land-surface of 120 feet—the height of many church towers in Gloucestershire—would make the whole of the Bristol Channel dry land; and if the Severn Valley sank 100 feet a battleship could sail past Gloucester and Tewkesbury, and cast anchor over the city of Worcester.

But when the Lower Severn Valley had come to wear very much the same aspect as it does at the present day a great climatic change set in. Snow fell upon the hills, and slowly proceeding southwards from the Midlands was a great ice-sheet, which sent off a tongue southwards down the Moreton Valley, possibly as far as the hills by Little Milton; but on the other side it probably passed south of Bredon Hill. Some authors have held that the greater part of the Cotswold Hills was submerged beneath ice-laden water in this Glacial Period; but others believe in "land-ice": masses of snow and ice driven forward by the pressure of more ice and snow from the back. Both these schools of thought admit difficulties; but there has been a third suggestion made. This was made recently by Mr. Richardson, who pictures the valley at Berkeley blocked up by ice derived from the hills of the Forest on the one hand and those of the Cotswolds on the other, damming back the waters caused by the melting of the great Midland ice-sheet to the north of Bredon, and converting for a comparatively short period the Vale of Gloucester into a sort of lake. Be this as it may, we have yet much to learn of the last chapter in the "Record of the Rocks."

## CHAPTER XI.

## EARLIEST MEN IN GLOUCESTERSHIRE.

For thirteen hundred years Gloucestershire people have spoken the English language. Before the English came into the county the language spoken here was the Welsh language. Before the Welsh came the language spoken was the Irish. Before the Irish came the people living in the county were called Iberians, and they spoke a language which has now died out. The Romans came into Gloucestershire nearly nineteen hundred years ago. The Welsh lived here for a long time before the Romans came, the Irish for a long time before the Welsh came, and the Iberians for a long time before the Irish came.

It is probable, if not certain, that men lived in Gloucestershire while much of the Severn Valley was still swampy. Other parts of England were inhabited at that time; and various objects have been found which indicate that people may also have walked over what are now the Cotswold Hills and the Forest of Dean. The climate was much colder than it is now, for the animals whose bones have been found were such as lived among ice and snow. The weapons men used to kill these animals, and the tools they fashioned for domestic purposes, were made of flint and stone. Because they used stone implements and are the earliest men of whom we have any knowledge, they are called Palæolithic men (from two Greek words—palaios =

ancient and *lithos* = stone), and the period in which they lived is known as the Early Stone Age.

Even these early men are believed to have belonged to two races, which successively occupied the country. The remains of the earlier race are found in gravels laid down by rivers which have long since disappeared The later race lived in caves, such as King Arthur's Cave, between Symond's Yat and Monmouth, where stone and flint tools made by man were found buried with the bones of the cave lion, mammoth, and other animals now extinct.

How long ago these early men lived we cannot tell. It must have been many thousands of years, for since their time there have been great changes in the surface of the country. Hills they knew have gone, valleys they knew not have come into existence. They could have walked from London to Paris had such places then existed, for Britain was then joined to the Continent across the eastern end of what is now the English Channel.

The next race to inhabit this country must have crossed the sea, for when they came Britain had become an island. The large valleys at that time were almost covered with forests, and they settled in the hilly regions. In Gloucestershire they lived on the Cotswold Hills, and they have left behind them, scattered over the district, the tools and weapons they used, traces of the places in which they lived, and the mounds under which they were buried.

Their skeletons show that these men were of medium stature, the tallest among them being not more than about 5 feet 6 inches in height. They were what may be called long-headed, that is, their skulls were long in proportion to their breadth. The man or boy who to-day has to stretch a new hat lengthways to make it fit his head may regard himself as having a skull like in shape to that of one of these long-headed ancient men. The frontal bones of the skull indicate that these people were pleasant in face, and from various reasons it is thought that they had dark hair and eyes. They

belonged to the Iberian race, which at one time covered the greater part of Western Europe, but in course of time got mixed up with other races, and to-day their nearest representatives are the Basques, who live in the

north of Spain.

. Like their Palæolithic ancestors, these people were unacquainted with metal, and all their tools and weapons were made of bone, flint, and stone. For this reason the period in which they lived is called the Neolithic Age (from the Greek neos = new, and lithos = stone). In many recently-ploughed fields on the Cotswolds, especially after rain, flints may be picked up which have been chipped by man, though they are less plentiful now than they were a few years ago. The most numerous are nearly round or oval in shape, varying in diameter from less than an inch to an inch-and-a-half, with sharp edges. These, it is thought, were used for scraping the skins of animals, and a few have a concave edge which would be specially useful for scraping arrow-shafts or bone needles. Other pieces of flint were plainly used for arrow-heads, sometimes barbed, sometimes leaf-shaped or triangular, and often polished. pieces of flint were used as knives. Some are triangular, and might easily have been fitted into a handle; others are scimitar-shaped; others are like lancets, with sides curving to a point. Pencil-shaped flints were used as borers; worked balls of flint were excellent slingstones; and pieces with serrated edges made useful Hammers and hatchets, beautifully fashioned and polished, have been found, but they are very rare on the Cotswolds, although fairly numerous in some other parts of the country. It is possible that Gloucestershire people in those times enjoyed the blessings of peace, and therefore did not require large weapons for handto-hand fighting with a well-armed foe.

From the numerous remains they have left us, it is not difficult to imagine the kind of life that these early Gloucestershire people lived. Their dwelling-place was a mere hole in the ground, probably covered with a lean-to, made of poles and brushwood; and traces of

their dwellings are scattered over the hills south of Stroud. Their clothing was made of skins of the wild animals they hunted in the forests-bears, wolves, and foxes. They were farmers as well as hunters, for they bred sheep, goats, and pigs, and grew wheat. Their methods of grinding must have been very imperfect, for the teeth of adults are generally worn down to the gum owing to the sand and grit which was mixed with their food. Some of the women, if not the men, wore ornaments, and in a burial-place at Eveford, near Stow-on-the-Wold, an amulet, or bead, was found upon a woman's breast. Forming themselves into small communities, they protected themselves in time of need in camps made by raising high mounds of earth topped with timber stockades. Their burial-places were not graves, but huge long mounds erected on the highest points of the high lands, and, in the words of the poet Swinburne,

> There they laid their dead to sleep Royally, lying where wild winds keep Keen watch, and wail more soft and deep Than where men's choirs bid music weep.

In Gloucestershire these burial-places, which the Romans called tumuli, and which our Anglo-Saxon forefathers termed barrows (Saxon bearw, a sepulchre), are found only on the Cotswold Hills, and chiefly in the middle of the district.\* A general idea of their structure may be got from the barrow at Uley. It is 120 feet long and 85 feet broad in its widest part. A dry wall surrounds the whole mound, and at one end curves inwards like the mouth of a cave, and leads to the entrance, which is formed of two upright stones and a huge stone laid across them. From the entrance there is a straight, narrow passage, 24 feet long and 5 feet high, and at its end are four small rooms, made of stone,

<sup>\*</sup> There are long barrows in or near the following places: Ablington, Amberley, Aston, Avening, Birdlip, Bisley, Charlton Abbots, Cirencester, Duntisbourne, Eastington, Edgeworth, Eyeford, Farmington, Hasleton, Leighterton, Notgrove, Nymphsfield, Randwick, Selsley, Sherborne, Shurdington, Swell, Uley, Willersey, and Withington.

in which about thirty skeletons were found. The bodies were usually buried in a squatting or "nose-to-knees" position, which probably was the resting posture during life. In the barrow near Birdlip, the bodies of a young woman and a baby had been placed on a semi-circle of stones, and about twenty men were buried near them.

These long-headed men, who interred their dead in long barrows, spread themselves nearly all over Great Britain. In course of time another race came amongst them, and also settled in the county of Gloucester. The invaders were called Celts, and belonged to a group of races known as the Aryan group, whose original home was in the Far East. They were taller and stronger than the Iberians, and had so far advanced in civilisation as to use metal in making their tools and weapons. This gave them a great advantage in fighting with men who used only flint and stone weapons, and by degrees the Iberians were driven to the north and west, where they became the ancestors of the people who to-day speak the Gaelic language in Ireland, the Scottish Highlands, and the Isle of Man. Some, however, remained behind with their Celtic conquerors, probably as slaves; and it is possible a few of them rose to high positions in the service of their masters, as Joseph did in Pharaoh's Court, for sometimes men belonging to the two races were buried in one grave.

Like the Iberians, these Celts lived in pits, and also erected mounds over their dead; and it is from the contents of the burial mounds (about 150 of which are scattered over the Cotswolds) and from the pit dwellings, which have been found near Cheltenham and Stroud, that we learn something of their manners and customs. They had domesticated the horse, ox, sheep, pig, and fowl, and used all as food. Not only was the flesh eaten, but the bones, even of the horse, were broken for the marrow. Their skulls were round rather than long, and their faces were not so pleasant as those of the Iberians: indeed, with his strong arms and formidable weapons the Celt of this period was in a double sense "an ugly customer." As was his head,

so was his barrow—round; but it was not such a stately burial-place as the long tumulus. It usually consisted of a kind of box (kist), made of stones, in which the skeletons were placed in a sitting posture, the whole being covered with a mound of earth. Cremation was sometimes practised, the ashes being preserved in a stone urn, or, as in a round barrow near Bibury, buried in a rude cavity made of stones.

The Celts who conquered the Iberians were a branch of the Celtic race called Goidels. In course of time, how long afterwards is not known, the country was invaded by another Celtic swarm, known as Brythons. As the Goidels had treated the Iberians, so they in turn were treated by the Brythons. Resistance usually resulted in death, and by degrees they were driven to the west and north, where they settled down with their old enemies, the Iberians, and the Brythons occupied their country. At a still later period the Brythons had to retreat before the Roman invaders, who drove them in the same directions that the former had driven the Goidels, and that the Goidels had driven the Iberians. Most of them settled in Wales, where the Brythonic language is to-day spoken, but some went to Cumberland, and others to Cornwall, where the language they introduced lasted until about a century ago.

It is from the Brythons that we get the name Britain. From them and from the Goidelic Celts we also get a number of place-names in Gloucestershire. "Cotswold" was once spelt "Coteswold." "Cotes" comes from the Celtic word "coed," a wood, and "wold" is from the Anglo-Saxon "weald," which also means a wood, indicating that at one time the Cotswold Hills had far more trees growing upon them than are growing there now. The names of some of the Gloucestershire hills end with "don" or "down," a corruption of the Celtic word "dun," a hill. Most of our rivers also bear Celtic names. In Wales, "afon" (pronounced "avon") has the same meaning as the English word "river." In this county there are three Avons, so that the common Celtic name for a river we use as a proper name. The

Leadon, the Cam, the Isbourne, the Chelt, are other examples of names which have come to us from the Celtic occupation of the county. The names given them by the Celts have been adopted by the later inhabitants with only sufficient alteration to make them more pronounceable, just as to-day we have adopted the names by which natives call places in South Africa, India, and elsewhere.

The Celts brought with them the system of religion known as Druidism. Their priests, who were called Druids, practised many barbaric rites, and were wizards and conjurors, but they gave moral instruction to the young, and also taught the immortality of the soul. "And ye, ye Druids," a Roman living in England once said to them, "to you only is given knowledge of the gods and the powers of heaven. From you we learn that the bourne of man's ghost is not the senseless grave; in another world his spirit survives still; death, if your lore is true, is but the passage to eternal life."

The Druids lived in the depths of the forest; and in this county are some customs which have come down from Druidic days. There are special laws in the Forest of Dean as to woodland, pasturage, and other matters, and they are administered by an ancient court, called the Court of Verderers, just as our judges and magistrates administer the laws of the whole country. This court is not held daily, weekly, monthly, or quarterly, as the ordinary law courts are: it is held every forty days. The reason for this singular division of time is to be found in the custom of the Druids. To them the number 3 was a sacred number, and its square = 9 was especially sacred. Their year, also, was not the same length as it is now. Our year of 365 days, with an extra day in leap-year, was introduced by Julius Cæsar, and the first year with 365 days in it began 46 years before the birth of Christ. Before that time the year consisted of 360 days, the odd five days not being counted. Divide 360 by 40, and we have 9, so that the number of times a year the court is held is the number which the Druids accounted as especially

sacred. The ancient laws of the Forest also provided that the Verderers' Court should meet for three purposes -every forty days for one purpose, three times a year for a second, and every three years for a third; and there must be three witnesses in each case. Further, the boundaries of the Forest had to be perambulated every three years by royal officers, accompanied by nine foresters. One other ancient law, which is still kept, is that the court shall meet at twelve o'clock at noon, which was the beginning of the Druidic day.

Thus do customs connect the present with the fardistant past. And although Iberian, Goidelic Celt, and Brythonic Celt have one after the other been forced to go west and north, it is not there alone that their descendants are found. As Professor Rhys, the Celtic scholar and writer, says: "Skulls are harder than consonants, and races lurk behind when languages slink away "; and though to-day we speak the English tongue, the long-headed and dark-haired among us get those features from the Iberians, and the blood of the Anglo-Saxon is mixed with the blood of Goidel and Brython.

## CHAPTER XII.

How the Romans came into Gloucestershire.

When we write figures about money we put with them the letters f s. d. For instance, f2 19s. 4d. means two pounds, nineteen shillings, and four pence. But the letters f. s. d. do not stand for the English words pounds, shillings, and pence. They stand for Latin words. £ stands for libra, s. for solidus, and d. for denarius. Libra is the Latin word for pounds, solidus is the Latin word for shilling, and denarius is the Latin word for penny.

We also use Latin words with figures in other ways. When we speak of five per *cent*. we mean five for each hundred. The word *cent*. is a shortened form of the word *centum*, which is the Latin word for the English word hundred. When we write *cwt*. we mean a hundredweight. Here we use shortened forms of a Latin word and an English word. The *c*. stands for *centum*, a hundred, and *wt*. for weight,

We use Latin words, too, in writing about time. When we write "A.D." we use letters which stand for Anno Domini, Latin words which in English mean "in the year of our Lord." When we use the letters "A.M." and "P.M." we mean "before noon" and "after noon," but the letters stand for ante-meridiem and post-meridiem, ante being Latin for "before," post being Latin for "after," and meridiem is the accusative case of another Latin word. meridies. "noon."

Latin is what is called a "dead" language: that is, it is not now spoken by any nation. But it was spoken in England, and spoken in Gloucestershire, for four hundred years. The people who spoke it were the Romans. They came into this country about the middle of the first century, and lived here until the beginning of the fifth century, and during the whole of that time Latin was the language in which they talked.

The first attempt by the Romans to settle in England was made in the year 55 B.C. Julius Cæsar, a Roman general, invaded the country with about ten thousand soldiers, but owing to the opposition of the Britons and the damage done to his ships by a storm he remained only three weeks, and did not go far from the shore. In the following year he came with about thirty thousand troops, and marched some distance inland. He defeated a few British tribes, and others submitted to him; but after a stay of about two months he again left the country, and never returned.

Nearly a century passed before the Romans again landed in Britain. We read in the New Testament (Acts xi., 28) that a prophet named Agabus prophesied a great famine, "which came to pass in the days of



ROMAN REMAINS AT CHEDWORTH.



ROMAN TESSELATED PAVEMENT AT CIRENCESTER.

Claudius Cæsar." Claudius Cæsar was a Roman Emperor, and it was during his reign that the third Roman invasion of Britain took place, and that the Romans settled in the county of Gloucester.

The invading army consisted of four legions, numbering in all about forty thousand men, and were under the command of a Roman general named Aulus Plautius. They landed on the south coast in the year 43 A.D. Marching inland, a portion of the army soon came among a tribe which some Roman historians call the "Dobuni" and others the "Boduni." This tribe occupied the Cotswold district, and as "Boduni" is an ancient British word which means "hill dwellers" it is probable that is their correct name. A portion of the tribe submitted themselves to the Romans, and Plautius built a fortress among them, to which was given the name Corinium (now the town of Cirencester). Other tribes fought stubbornly against him, and finding himself unable to overcome them, Plautius sent for the Emperor, who at once came to his assistance with a large force, including a troop of war elephants. Britons gathered together a great force, but the Romans were victorious, and after only six months' absence from Rome, Claudius returned to it, and was given the title "Britannicus," in honour of his victories in Britain.

After they had occupied Cirencester and conquered the people on the Cotswold Hills, probably without any serious fighting, the Roman soldiers descended into the Severn Valley. Their object was to get to Gloucester, and establish a large camp there as their headquarters. They had a special reason for doing so. The invasion was not a mere march without any definite purpose beyond that of fighting the enemy and occupying their land. On the contrary, it was carried out in accordance with a plan which had been carefully prepared. This plan was to conquer the country a portion at a time.

If you look at a map of England you will see that Colchester and Gloucester are opposite each other. While one legion of Roman soldiers had been marching towards Gloucester, another legion had conquered

Colchester and erected a strong camp there. Their object in getting to Gloucester was to make a fortress there, and then to conquer the part of the country south of a line drawn between these two places. They chose Gloucester as the western end of this line because they wanted the Severn as the western boundary of the territory to be first occupied, and also because Gloucester was the lowest point on the river which was crossed by a bridge, and therefore the lowest point at which enemies could cross except by boat.

In trying to get to Gloucester, the Romans met with a fierce and warlike tribe of Ancient Britons called Silures, who lived in the woods of the Forest of Dean and in the hilly districts of South Wales. Again and again the Silures attacked the Romans, and when defeated they went back to their hills and woods, where it was very difficult to follow them. After this warfare had been going on for three or four years, Aulus Plautius went back to Rome, and a commander named Ostorius

Scapula was sent to take his place.

The new commander found that before he could hope to defeat the Silures he must keep them out of the part of the country which the Romans had already occupied. A part of the plan he adopted for doing so was to make a line of forts along the western edge of the Cotswold district. Nearly every prominent point along the Hills overlooking the Severn Valley between the Avon at Stratford and the Avon at Bath had its fortified camp. Willersey, Stanton, Charlton Abbotts, Nottingham Hill, Cleeve Hill, Leckhampton, Crickley, Birdlip, Cooper's Hill, Painswick, Haresfield, Selsley Hill, Üley Bury, Stinchcombe Hill, Westridge, Sodbury, Dyrham, and Lansdown were among the places chosen for camps; and the ramparts which the Romans built were so large and strong that they exist to-day, although they were made more than eighteen hundred years ago. In each of these camps a number of soldiers were kept, and they had a system of signalling by which they could be called to help each other when attacked by their enemies.

The King of the Silures at this time was Caradoc, whom the Romans called Caractacus. He was a clever as well as brave man, and when he found Ostorius was coming against him he got tribes to join him, and took them to a lofty, fortified hill, at the foot of which there was a river. There he exhorted his followers to fight. "This day, my fellow warriors," he said, "this very day, decides the fate of Britain. The era of liberty or eternal bondage begins from this hour. Remember your brave and warlike ancestors, who met Julius Cæsar in open combat, and chased him from the coast of Britain." But the troops were no match for well-armed and well-drilled troops, and the battle ended in a complete Roman victory. Caradoc escaped. and went to the Queen of another British tribe for protection. She, however, put him in chains and delivered him to the Romans, and he was sent as a prisoner to Rome, where he received from the Emperor a free pardon for his bravery, though he was not allowed to return to Britain.

Although they lost the battle and their King, the Silures did not give up the conflict. Time after time they fought with the Romans, and sometimes defeated them; and after three years' constant conflict with them Ostorius died. Other generals who followed drove them westward, but many years passed before they were finally conquered.

When the Romans were able to settle at Gloucester, they made it a strong military camp. From Gloucester the Romans crossed the Severn, went through the Forest of Dean, and built a camp at Caerwent, near Chepstow, and afterwards they constructed another strong camp at

Caerleon, a short distance from Newport.

The soldiers who first occupied the county of Gloucester, and who then moved into South Wales, belonged to a division of the Roman army which was called the Second Legion, and which also bore the name "Legio Secunda Augusta." It was so named because it was formed by the Emperor Cæsar Augustus. This is the Emperor of whom we read (St. Luke ii., I):

"There went out a decree from Cæsar Augustus that all the world should be taxed"; and it was in obedience to this decree that Joseph and Mary went up from Nazareth "unto the city of David, which is called Bethlehem."

Although we speak of these soldiers as Roman soldiers, few of them came from Rome itself. hundred years before the birth of Christ, Rome consisted of a single city. Then soldiers from it went forth and conquered all Italy. From Italy they gradually conquered all the countries round the Mediterranean Sea. and then they invaded Britain. All the lands thus brought under Roman rule became a part of the Roman empire, and all the soldiers in these lands became part of the Roman army. Some of the soldiers who lived in Gloucestershire came from the eastern part of the Continent. A Roman tombstone found at Cirencester was erected to the memory of a horse soldier from Albany, now one of the Turkish provinces; and two more tombstones found in the county were of horse soldiers from Thrace, now a part of the Kingdom of Turkey.

By the Roman conquest of Britain, Gloucestershire therefore became part of the great Roman Empire, which at one time covered the whole of Southern Europe, a small part of Asia (including Palestine), and the northern coast of Aftrica. As a consequence of the conquest the people of this country were under the civilized rule of the Romans for nearly four hundred years.

# CHAPTER XIII.

How the Romans lived in Gloucestershire.

LET us now try to imagine what we should have seen in Gloucestershire had we been living here during the second, third, or fourth centuries of the Christian era.

What is now the city of Gloucester, which the Romans called Glevum, we should have found surrounded by four strong walls, outside which was a moat filled The walls were of equal length, so that with water. the city formed a square, and in the middle of each wall was a fortified gateway. Inside the city were four main streets, each extending from one of the · four gates to a point in the centre of the city where all met. The four streets which meet at the Cross at Gloucester to-day exactly follow the lines of these Roman streets, and their names-Northgate, Southgate, Eastgate, and Westgate-show that at one time they were entered through gates in the city walls. In some of these streets were beautiful buildings, used for public business or as the residences of the chief officials, buildings with tall carved pillars, ornamented walls, and tesselated floors. From the main streets ran numerous smaller streets, in which lived the soldiers and the working classes. The large houses were luxuriously furnished, heated by hot air, and fitted with baths. The whole city was, in fact, almost a copy of Rome itself on a small scale.

Leaving the North gate of Glevum, a journey of seventeen miles would have taken us to Corinium. the modern Cirencester. Corinium was larger than Glevum, and was surrounded by a strong rampart. The arrangement of the streets was very much like that of Glevum, but the only main street now traceable is one which followed a line from the London Road end of the Beeches through Lewis Lane and Querns Lane to near the Ouerns. The chief buildings were quite as beautiful as those at Glevum, and there was one of great size, for it was nearly as large as Gloucester Cathedral. This was called a Basilica. A part of the building was used as a marketplace, and there was a room at the end for a magistrates' court. We can get a good idea of the uses of this building from an incident recorded in Acts xvi., 19, 20. There we read: "When her masters saw that the hope of their gains was gone, they caught Paul and Silas, and drew them into the market-place,

unto the rulers, and brought them to the magistrates." Philippi, where this event took place, was a town under the rule of the Romans, and the building into which Paul and Silas were taken was similar to the Basilica at Cirencester. Outside Cirencester was an amphitheatre in which combats between men or men and animals and other sports took place, while the onlookers sat or stood on high embankments all round. Only the foundations of the Basilica now remain, and these are buried under gardens near Tower Street; but the amphitheatre (now called the Bull Ring) still exists.

Glevum and Corinium were the largest towns in the county. They were what to-day we call cities; and a part of the Roman wall at Cirencester is still called "the city bank." The people who lived in these cities had their own rulers, some of whom were elected by the people. There is a tombstone to the memory of a Gloucester ruler (called a decurion) at Bath, where he had gone to drink the famous waters, and where he

died at the age of eighty-six.

Scattered about the county were a number of Roman villas or mansions. There was a large one in the woods at Chedworth, about ten miles north of Cirencester. The living rooms were built round the sides of a square, in the centre of which was a large court or garden. The best rooms had floors made of very small stones (called tesseræ), of various colours, arranged in beautiful designs. In a separate building were rooms for hot-air baths, somewhat like the Turkish baths of to-day. There was a larger and more beautiful villa at Woodchester, one of the rooms being nearly fifty feet square, and covered with a tesselated pavement of magnificent design. The Woodchester villa is now covered up, part of it being in the churchyard. The villa at Chedworth is entirely uncovered, and shows how Roman houses were built; and a large number of remains found there, now placed in a museum, show the kinds of things in daily use by the people in Roman times.

Cities, towns, and villas were connected by roads. Some of these roads were great highways which led

to various parts of England, and most of them are still in use. The Foss Way, which goes from Exeter to York, passes through Bath, Cirencester, Northleach, Bourton-on-the-Water, Stow-on-the-Wold, and Moreton-The Ermine Street begins at Gloucester. in-Marsh. climbs the Cotswolds at Birdlip, and passes through Circumcester to Silchester (twelve miles south of Reading), and thence to London. From Gloucester westward there was a road through the Forest of Dean to the Roman stations at Caerwent and Caerleon. A great deal of labour was spent in making these roads, and the surface was usually paved.

Besides these great highways, there were a number of small roads branching from them to small towns

and villas.

A journey through the county while the Romans were living here would have shown some interesting sights. Starting from a large town, such as Gloucester or Cirencester, we should soon have been travelling on a good road which passed through thick woods and broad open fields. Not far from the city gates we might have met a lady, carried in a litter or wheeled in a sedan chair, come out for change of scene and fresh air, or perhaps to visit friends in a villa near. Presently a loud noise would have told of the approach of an official of high rank, riding in a stately carriage, drawn by four horses, hastening to the city on important Government business. Further on we might have been saluted by dwellers in the country districts making their way in gigs and other vehicles to city or town for marketing and pleasure. Behind them broad-wheeled wagons, drawn by oxen, would have lumbered along with a heavy load of farm produce for the dwellers in town, or perhaps being taken to the Severn at Gloucester or the Thames at Lechlade for conveyance by water to another part of the Roman Empire. If we were in or near the Forest of Dean we should have seen loads of iron in carts or on pack-horses being carried to town and villa, or to a vessel, perhaps at Lechlade, for conveyance to Rome itself. Now and again would fall upon the ears the steady tramp, tramp, of Roman soldiers and the clanging noise of their chariots as they marched from one military station to another, or from some seaport where they had landed for service in Britain.

If we were walking we should want refreshment and rest, and if we were riding horses would want the same. At intervals along the road were inns and small posting-stations, and about a day's journey apart were Government posting-stations where horses and vehicles might be obtained, and where the passports of travellers were examined by Government officials. On the main roads were milestones, with inscriptions stating the number of miles to the next station, in either direction, and sometimes the name of the Emperor in whose reign the stone was erected.

Had we been on terms of friendship with a Government official, and stayed with him at such a villa as that at Witcombe (near Gloucester), or Spoonley (near Winchcombe), or Lydney, or Tockington, or Rodmarton, or Chedworth, or Woodchester, we should have been entertained in sumptuous style, Fish, fowl, and flesh would have been served on beautiful table ware; France and Italy would have sent us the richest of wines; and artistic decorations would have covered the floors and walls of all the family rooms. On horseback we could have joined in the pleasures of the chase; and carriages would have taken us to a gay throng come together to witness the skill of drivers in chariot races or the speed and strength of men in athletic sports. When evening drew on, a luxurious bath would have helped to dispel fatigue and prepare us for the evening meal and the social pleasures that followed it. Here and there a carved or painted figure of the Eagle would have betokened the owner's official connection with the Empire, just as the royal arms indicates the position of officials under the British Crown to-day.

At last the time came for all the power and glory of the Roman Empire in Britain to end. Troubles nearer home led to the recall of all the Roman soldiers, and when they had gone the civilization they had brought with them was swiftly destroyed. Gloucester and Cirencester, strongly built, survived for a time, though in ruined grandeur. The villas, however, were soon a prey to destructive hands and the waste of natural decay. And now, as we may see by a visit, for instance, to the villa at Chedworth,

Where once in all his pomp and power
The Roman eagle spread his haughty wing,
Waves the sweet banner of tall tree and flower
And wood birds rest and sing.

### CHAPTER XIV.

THE COMING OF THE ENGLISH INTO GLOUCESTERSHIRE.

From the edge of the Cotswolds anywhere south of Cheltenham we may on a clear day see the summits of mountains far away to the south-west. The people living among these mountains can and do speak English, but it is not their native language. Among themselves they usually talk in Welsh, for they are Welsh people; and although they have learned English, in school and among English people, it is to them just as much a foreign tongue as French or German is to us. Indeed, there is a much greater likeness between the English language and the German than there is between the English and the Welsh. Many of our common words are also common words among the Germans. Father, mother, wife, child, bread, water, and many other words are almost exactly the same in English and in German. The Welsh, on the other hand, speak a language entirely different from ours. For instance, if a Welshman asks for bread and cheese he says: rhoddwch i mi fara a chaws; if he wants to know the time he asks: A vdych yn gwybod pa beth ydyw o'r gloth? and if he wants to tell you he has a headache he says: Mae genyf gur tv mhen.

And yet we have a number of words which are also used by the Welsh. In Gloucestershire there are three rivers called Avon; one joins the Severn at Tewkesbury, another runs near Berkeley Castle, and a third flows past Bath and Bristol into the Severn at Avonmouth. In Wales there are a number of rivers called afon (a word pronounced avon, for f in Welsh has the same sound as our v). But in Wales afon means "river." Afon Lugwy and Afon Lledr mean in English the river Lugwy and the river Lledr. In Wales, . therefore, what is a common name for a river is with Nearly all the other rivers in us a proper name. Gloucestershire have Welsh names. Thames, Coln, Leach, Churn, Chelt, Leadon, Cam, Isbourne, are Welsh names slightly altered by English people in order to make them more easily pronounced. Our word "pill" (an inlet or pool) is the same as the Welsh word pwll, and there are several "pills" (Bullo Pill, Collow Pill, etc.) on the Severn near Newnham. The names of some of the hills and valleys in our county are also Welsh words which have been slightly altered from long use by English people. "Down," for instance, as in Churchdown, Clifton Down, and Puesdown, is another way of spelling the Welsh word dun (pronounced doon), which means a hill. The word "combe," as in Winchcombe, Pitchcombe, and Gatcombe, is also the English spelling of the Welsh word cwm (pronounced coom), which means a cup-shaped depression or valley.

How is it these Welsh words are still in use in an English county? To find the answer we must look at what happened before and after the Roman occupation of Gloucestershire. As we have already learned, when the Romans invaded this county they found themselves among a people commonly known as Ancient Britons, but who belonged to a race called Celts, now living in Wales. Although the Romans lived in the county for nearly four hundred years, these Celts were not all killed or driven away. Large numbers of them remained and became the slaves of their conquerors, cutting down woods, making roads, and doing various

other kinds of manual work. They did not speak the language of the Romans, but their own language, and that language was what we call Welsh. When the Romans went away they continued to live in the county and to speak their own Welsh tongue. Nearly two hundred years later they were driven out of this county and went into Wales. The people who drove them away were our English forefathers, who spoke English. But although the Welsh language ceased to be spoken in the county, the names of rivers and hills and valleys were not altered, or were only altered just enough to make them to be easily pronounced by the new comers. When Englishmen conquer and settle in a foreign country,—as, for instance, in India and South Africa, they usually call the mountains, hills and rivers by the names that the natives use. The same thing happened when the English came into Gloucestershire. heard the people among whom they came call hills and valleys and rivers by certain names, and they did not give them new ones.

These Welsh people, then, who gave many of our hills and valleys and rivers the names we use to-day, lived in Gloucestershire for many hundreds of years. They were here long before the Romans came, and they remained for nearly two hundred years afterwards. At last the time came when they were driven away by a conquering army of invaders, and Gloucestershire was to know them no more.

These invaders were our English forefathers. It was about the year 450 that Hengest and Horsa with their warriors from Jutland landed at Ebbsfleet, in the Isle of Thanet, and began the conquest of England. Sixty years later a war-band of West-Saxons landed near Portsmouth and began to fight their way northwards. Step by step, and with battle upon battle, they reached the chalk downs of Wiltshire. Then turning to the north-west they marched in that direction until they came upon the southern part of the Cotswold Hills.

News of the coming of the invaders had preceded them, and the Welshmen went forth to meet the foe. They were led by three kings, whose names have been handed down to us, and whose homes were the former Roman cities of Gloucester, Cirencester, and Bath. From town and village the natives flocked under the flags of their kings, and all gathered at the village of Dyrham, about ten miles north of Bath. But they were no match for their enemies. How many men fought on each side, or how long the fighting lasted, we are not told; but the historian of the battle leaves no doubt as to its result. In its record of events which occurred in 577 the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, the oldest English history, says:

"This year Cuthwine and Ceawlin fought against the Britons, and slew three kings, Conmael, Condidan, and Farinmael, at the place which is called Deorham, and took three cities from them, Gleawanceaster and

Cirenceaster and Bathanceaster."

This battle between the English and the Welsh was the turning point in Gloucestershire history. The capture of the only three towns in the county, Bath, Gloucester, and Cirencester, opened the way for English settlements throughout the county. The battle was also a turning point in national history. In winning it the West Saxons completed their conquering march from the Solent to the Severn, and cut off the Welsh of Somerset, Devon and Cornwall from their brethren in Wales and the Midlands. The power of the native resistance was thus broken, and step by step the land was won for the English folk.

Soon after the battle of Dyrham a tribe of West-Saxons afterwards known as Hwiccas came to the Cotswold Hills and the Severn Valley, and began to settle there, with Ceawlin, one of the victors at Dyrham, as King. They soon got tired of Ceawlin's rule, and rose in revolt against him, and took for their king Ceolric, a nephew of Ceawlin. In 593, or sixteen years after the battle of Dyrham, Ceawlin died, and his throne passed to the family of his brother Cutha. With the new Kingship the Hwiccas, though still retaining their independence, joined in continuous struggle for

the extension of the West-Saxon realm, and by the year 620 Wessex as (the West-Saxon Kingdom is called) reached from the English Channel to the Warwickshire Avon, and from the upper tidal waters of the Thames to the River Severn. Then a great change came. At this time England was divided into several Kingdoms, each with its own King. All the people in these Kingdoms were English, but they constantly fought with one another, each trying to bring the others under its own King. One of the Kingdoms was Northumbria, and covered what are now the counties of Northumberland, Durham and York. In 626 the King of Wessex (Cwichelm) tried by treachery to kill the King of Northumbria by sending a messenger who stabbed him. On recovering from his wound, the King attacked the West-Saxons and defeated them a great battle, and Gloucestershire, like the rest of Wessex, came under the rule of the Northumbrian king. Other changes followed. A new Kingdom had gradually been formed by joining together several small states. This Kingdom was called Mercia, and in the middle of the seventh century it covered a part of central England. One of its earliest Kings was named Penda, who was constantly at war with his neighbours. In 628 he invaded the West-Saxon kingdom, and forced a treaty of peace at Circumcester. As a consequence, Gloucestershire ceased to be a part of Wessex and became a part of the Kingdom of Mercia. Penda's aim was to complete his dominion over Mid-Britain. But while he was conquering East Anglia, the Northumbrians fought against him and defeated him, and again Gloucestershire was attached to the Northumbrian realm.

A few years later the Mercians rose in revolt, defeated their Northumbrian rulers, and placed Wulfere, a son of Penda, on the Mercian throne. When Wulfere died, he was succeeded by Ethelred, and then came another change in the story of Gloucestershire rule. The Hwiccas were West-Saxons, not Mercians (who belonged to the Angle race), and Ethelred deemed it

advisable to make the land upon which they had settled into a separate province, though it was still to remain a part of the Mercian Kingdom. This land covered those portions of the present counties of Gloucester and Worcester on the east of the Severn and a small area in the county of Warwick. Ethelred also thought it wise not to place over the Hwiccas a man belonging to the Mercian race, but at the same time he did not want to give them a West-Saxon ruler, lest they should try to set up independent rule or to make an alliance with their brethren in Wessex. So he got what he wanted from Northumbria, and for many years Hwicca was under the rule of Northumbrian princes. Their real position was that of Viceroy, that is, they were the representatives of the Mercian King, just as the Viceroy of India is the representative of the King of England in India to-day. One Viceroy was named Osric, who was one of the founders of Christianity in Gloucestershire.

During the eighth century the Mercian Kingdom grew larger and stronger. In 760 Offa became King, and at once began to make it larger and stronger still. He fought against the Welsh on the western side of the Severn, and at last drove them beyond the Wye. To keep them there he built a great dyke from the mouth of the Dee to the mouth of the Wye, portions of which may still be seen near Chepstow, on St. Braviel's Common, and at Lydbrook. The dyke is on the eastern side of the Wye, which shows that the Welsh were powerful enough to keep the river in their own territory, and to prevent its use by their enemies. Offa's great aim was to bring all the Kingdoms of England under Mercian rule, and thus to become the first English King. He failed, but by his victory over the Welsh he took from them the district of Gloucestershire between the Severn and the Wye, and thus prepared the way for making it a part of England.

What Offa failed to do was soon afterwards done by one of his enemies. In 802, eight years after Offa's death, the King of Wessex died, and Ecgbert, who had been banished during his youth through the enmity of Offa, ascended the throne. The men of Gloucestershire and Worcestershire at once rose against him, and a great battle was fought. "On that ilk day," says the Chronicle, "rode Æthelbund, ealdorman of the Hwiccas, over at Cynemæres Ford [the ford over the Thames at Kempsford, three miles from Fairford]: and there Weohstan, the ealdorman, met him with the Wilts men (West-Saxons), and there was a muckle fight, and both ealdormen were slain, and the Wilts men won the day." Twenty-three years later the West-Saxons fought a great battle with the Mercian army at Wroughton, near Swindon, "and Ecgbert gained the day, and there was muckle slaughter." All the Mercian provinces at once rose in revolt, and cast off the Mercian voke, and Mercia was annexed to the West-Saxon Kingdom. Other conquests followed, and in about 830 the people of Gloucestershire saw Ecgbert, one of their own kith and kin, proclaim himself first King of the English people.

# CHAPTER XV.

## THE MAKING OF GLOUCESTERSHIRE.

TURNING from the part which Gloucestershire played in the making of England, let us now see how Gloucestershire itself was made. As already stated, there were four invasions of the county before the invasion by the English. First there was the invasion by the Iberians, who were buried under the long barrows which are scattered over the Cotswolds. Next there was the invasion by the Goidelic Celts, whose descendants now live chiefly in the Highlands of Scotland. Thirdly there was the invasion by the Brythonic Celts, who lived in this county when the Romans came, and now live in Wales. Fourthly there was in 43 A.D. the invasion by the Romans, who lived in Gloucestershire for four hundred

years, and then went away. Nearly two hundred years after they had gone the English came. There have since been two more invasions of the county, one by the Danes, the other by the Normans, making seven in-

vasions altogether.

Of these seven invasions by far the most important is the invasion by the English. Iberians and Celts have gone. The Romans made the county a part of a great empire, but the empire itself long ago came to an end. The Danes were in the county for only a few years, and half-a-dozen names of villages are all they have left us. The Norman invasion made great changes, but the number of Normans who settled in the county was very small, and in course of time they and their descendants became as English as the English themselves. invasion by the English was quite different from all other invasions. It was not an invasion by a few people, nor was it an invasion which made little difference to the people whose country was invaded. It was the removal of a whole nation from the shores of the Baltic to the island of Britain. As fast as their fighting men conquered a part of the new land they came in thousands and made new homes in it. They began to come into Britain in A.D. 449, and, as we have learned, they began to come into this county in 577, after the great battle at Dyrham. They brought with them their habits and customs; they gave a new name to the southern part of Britain and called it England; and their descendants gave to this county the name it bears—Gloucestershire.

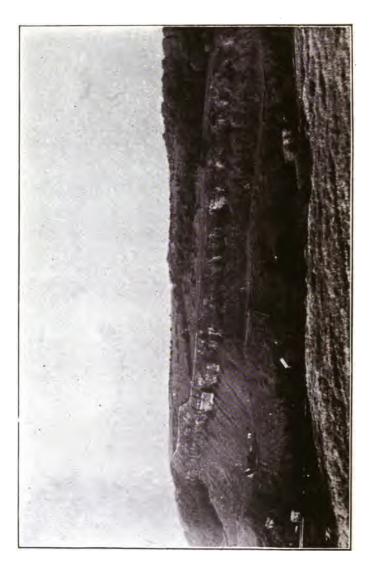
The way in which these English invaders settled in their new homes was very simple. Whatever land they wanted they seized. Rights of ownership did not trouble them. If a Briton objected to his land being taken from him he was either driven away or made a slave; if he resisted he was sometimes slain. Having seized the land the invaders began to build houses upon it, and settle down as farmers. We get a glimpse of the process of settlement in a book written by the most famous of the early English Kings—Alfred the Great. He describes how the forest provides every requisite for



A Home of the Britons-Forest of Dean.



THE "SPEECH HOUSE," FOREST OF DEAN.



building, shafts and handles for tools, timbers house-building, fair rods with which many a house may be constructed, wherein men may dwell permanently in peace and quiet, summer and winter, which," he pathetically adds, "is more than I have done yet." Sometimes a family lived by itself, with its farm servants and household servants, and owned and cultivated a bit of land around the house. Sometimes two or three or more families related to each other joined together in one settlement, forming, indeed, a small village. But whatever the size of the settlement, whether it was a single house or several homes, it was completely separated from all other settlements. Its boundaries were well marked and carefully kept; and any visitor who crossed a boundary had to blow a horn to announce his approach, or risk being killed as a stealthy foe. These settlements gradually increased in number until nearly the whole of England was covered. In course of time the boundaries of these settlements became the boundaries of parishes; and nearly every parish in Gloucestershire to-day was originally the settlement of one or more English families. Very few of our parishes to-day have well-marked boundaries. Occasionally a boundary is a river, stream or road; in most places it is only a hedgerow or wall; and in many parishes the boundary is an undefined line across an open field. It was not so in the early days of the English settlements. Then the boundary was such as any one could see. To-day the boundary remains, but very often its ancient marks have disappeared.

This love of private home life,—from which comes the old proverb that "an Englishman's home is his castle,"—is seen in the spots which the English invaders fixed upon for their new homes. Many of the main roads in Gloucestershire have existed from British or Roman times, and were excellent highways when the English settlement began. Yet, as anyone accustomed to travel on our main roads must have noticed, the towns or villages alongside the roads are few and far between. From Gloucester to Cirencester the Roman road,

known as the Ermine-Street, passes through only one village (Birdlip), and that is a modern outgrowth in a parish whose centre (Cowley) is two miles away. The ancient road which connects the Ermine Street at Birdlip with the Foss Way at Stow-on-the-Wold, except near Stow, also passes through only one village (Andoversford), and that consists of a few houses which have sprung up around a railway station in a corner of the parish of Dowdeswell. A similar isolation from centres of parish life marks the road from Bristol to Gloucester, the main road from Bath to the Stroud Valley, and the

road from Tewkesbury to Stow-on-the-Wold.

In its connection with the settlement of our English forefathers a noteworthy road is the Foss Way, which enters the county at its northern extremity near Moretonin-Marsh, and leaves it not far from its southern extremity near Bath. Throughout its whole length Cirencester is the only parish through which it passes, and that is because Cirencester was built upon it by the Romans. South of Circucester, the road has practically been abandoned, modern traffic between Circucester and Bath having been diverted to the road that runs through Tetbury and Didmarton. But the most remarkable feature of the Foss Way is its use boundary. From Littleton Drew, ten miles north of Bath, to Stow-on-the-Wold, a distance of about forty miles, it is for almost its entire length a boundary of parishes. The other ancient roads in the county are crossed by parish boundaries in all directions, and the Ermine Street is a parish boundary for only about half-a-dozen miles. Why the Foss Way should thus differ from all other ancient roads in the county is uncertain. It is, however, probable that after the battle of Dyrham the conquering West-Saxons marched northward along the Foss Way, and in the settlement that followed it would have been an excellent boundary between the lands of the settlers. And it is significant that the southermost point at which the Foss Way is a parish boundary is the point at which it is joined by a short road from the famous battle-field of Dyrham.

The settlement of our English forefathers in Gloucestershire was as thorough as it was simple. Every village, however small, had its name. And they were not fanciful names like some of our modern names; all had a meaning. The word "ham" is the old English word for "home;" "ton" and "worth" are old English words for an inclosure in which people live; and names of places which end with one of these words are thickly scattered about the county. Sometimes the settlers gave their own names to their new homes. Arlingham and Arlington were the homes of families named Arling, Boddington the home of the Bodding family, Tytherington the home of the Tytherings, Daglingworth the home of the Daglings, and so on; and more than one-third of the parishes in the county have names which end in "ham," "ton," or "worth." The word "hurst" is the English word for a thick wood; "ley" means an opening in a wood; and "field" is an English name for a place cleared by felling trees; and the names of one-eighth of the places in the county end with one of these words. A number of parishes take their names from rivers. Cheltenham is the "ham" or home on the Chelt; three villages take their name from the Coln, two (North and South Cerney) from the Churn, three from the Leach, one from the Cam, one from the Leadon, and one from the Windrush; and several place names end in "ford," "lode" or "lade," which mean the crossing of a river. The rivers were given their names by the Britons, but nearly all the places which take their names from the rivers are English names. Here and there the old names of places were preserved. Gloucester and Cirencester, for example, are names which have come down from British and Roman times, though in an altered form. these are exceptions to the general rule. So thorough, indeed, was the English conquest and settlement that at least eight out of ten of the parishes and hamlets in Gloucestershire still bear the names which were given to them by our English forefathers twelve or thirteen hundred years ago.

It was a primitive life that was lived in these early Gloucestershire villages. The people had few wants, and most of them were easily supplied in the village itself. Enough land was tilled to provide corn, cattle were fed on the pastures, and pigs fattened on the acorns of the forest. Sheep supplied wool which was spun in the home, and then made into clothing. Each village was self-governed. The heads of the free families (not the slaves) met in the open air, under a tree or beside a large stone, to talk over the affairs of the village and decide what to do for the good of all the people living in it. Of course, as always happens when a number of people live together, some became leaders of the others. But the leaders were chosen by the people. To use a modern phrase, it was "a government of the people, by the people, for the people." This meeting of villagers, such as was seen in every Gloucestershire village more than a thousand years ago, was, in fact, the beginning of the English constitution of to-day.

The isolation of the village was, however, only an isolation for the peaceful home and for the every-day affairs of village life. Disputes sometimes arose between village and village, murders or other serious crimes were committed, and the transfer of land from one man to another needed to be made known. purposes it was necessary to have a court which should represent a number of villages, just as the village assembly represented one village. Villages were formed into what are called "hundreds." Whether a "hundred" originally contained a hundred families or had to supply a hundred warriors is uncertain: but it was a convenient area for which to form a court, which was called the "hundred court." Like the village assembly, it was a court made by the people themselves. Of course all the men could not go, nor were all needed. village therefore elected five men to represent themthe head man and four others. Even this body was too large for some of the business to be done, and twelve men were elected as a committee of the hundred to decide matters of law and custom—a number which has

been continued to this day in juries at assizes, quarter sessions and coroners' inquests.

Domesday Book records thirty-nine hundreds in Gloucestershire, all of which had existed long before the Norman invasion. Nine of the hundreds that are recorded in Domesday Book have now ceased to exist, having been joined to other hundreds. The hundred court has long since disappeared. The hundred itself is also now little more than a name, its most important use being its liability to make good any damage done by

rioters in any part of its area.

While, however, the villagers gathered and settled the affairs of the village, and the hundred court did justice between those who lived in the hundred, it was necessary to have an assembly which should deal with matters which concerned the tribe. Sometimes there were disputes between one hundred and another, which could only be settled by a higher authority than the hundred court. Still more important was the election of a king of the tribe, or the question, which often arose, of peace or war with another tribe. Hence there was an assembly known as the Folk-moot—a meeting of the folk which constituted the tribe. The men of Gloucestershire east of the Severn, of Worcestershire, and of a small portion of Warwickshire belonged to the Kingdom of the Hwiccas, and from time to time they gathered at some convenient place to choose a King, to decide upon peace or war, or to discuss some matter of vital importance to the Kingdom. Armed with spear and shield, they sat around their leading men and listened to their speeches. If they disapproved of what they heard, they loudly shouted "Nay." If they approved, they shouted "Aye," shook their spears and clashed their shields.

When England consisted of seven Kingdoms each Kingdom had its own King, its own army, and managed its own affairs, and was independent of all other Kingdoms. Gloucestershire, for instance, was once a part of the Kingdom of Wessex, once of Northumbria, once of Mercia, and it had no connection with any other

Kingdom than that to which it belonged. But when all the Kingdoms were joined into one Kingdom, called England, the independence of each Kingdom came to an end. The men of Gloucestershire were no longer men of Wessex, or of Northumbria, or of Mercia; they were men of England. Their King was no longer King of Wessex, or of Northumbria, or of Mercia; their King was the King of England. Their army was no longer the army of Wessex, or of Northumbria, or of Mercia; their army was part of the army of England. Their laws were no longer the laws of Wessex, or of Northumbria, or of Mercia; their laws were the laws of England. The men who made the laws no longer made them only for Wessex, or Northumbria, or Mercia; they joined with men from all parts of England and made laws for the whole of England.

England having become one Kingdom, with one King, one army, one set of laws, and one parliament, it could not be governed as each Kingdom had governed itself. Money had to be given to the King for his support, soldiers and sailors wanted wages, and those who carried out the laws had to be paid. When war broke out there had to be a number of places at which the soldiers living near could assemble. In carrying out the laws, courts had to be so arranged that the people could get to them without having to travel long distances. The men who formed the National Council had to represent all parts of the Kingdom, and there had to be a number of places where they could be elected. For all these purposes it was necessary to divide the Kingdom into a number of districts, each with a representative of the King as its head. Each district was called a "shire," and the man at the head who represented the King was a "shire-reeve," a name afterwards altered to "sheriff."

In some parts of England the shire was simply the old Kingdom with a new name. The county of Somerset, for instance, is the old Kingdom of a tribe known as Somorsaetans, and Wiltshire is the land of the Wilsaetans. If the same plan had been adopted in our part of England there would not have been a

shire of Gloucester. The old Kingdom of the Hwiccas, which covered the part of Gloucestershire east of the Severn, the county of Worcester, and a part of Warwickshire, would have formed one county, and its name would have been something like Hwiccia. The part of our county west of the Severn, including the Forest of Dean, was formerly part of a Kingdom which included Herefordshire, and if that Kingdom had been made a shire the western side of our county would have been joined to the present shire of Hereford.

Instead of making the Kingdom of Hwiccia one county, it was split into three parts. The northern part was made the shire of Worcester, a small part on the east was joined to the shire of Warwick, and its southern half and the southern half of a Kingdom which lay west of the Severn were formed into the county of Gloucester. In the selection of a name for the new shire there was no difficulty. A shire which was a division of a Kingdom was nearly always named after the greatest town within it which was conveniently central. A city during the Roman occupation of Britain, Gloucester was still an important place when the English folk settled around it; and it was, as it still is, a meeting-point of some of the main roads of the shire. Hence the new county was named Gloucester-shire.

The date when these changes took place is uncertain. What is certain is that our county was in existence in 1016, for the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle states that in that year Canute, the Danish King, "went up with his army into Gloucestershire, where he learned that King Edmund [Edmund Ironside] was." Other entries in the Chronicle indicate pretty clearly that Mercia (which included Gloucestershire) was divided into shires about the year 1000, and in all probability it was about that time that the county of Gloucester came into being.

As a glance at a map will show, the boundaries of the county present some singular features.\* On the western side they are well marked by the river Wye,

<sup>\*</sup>The Index to the 6-inch scale of the Ordnance Survey of Gloucestershire (6d.) shows the boundaries of the county and also of each parish.

and in the south by the river Avon. On the south-east and east the boundary follows a ragged line, but it is fairly well defined. On the north-west side Newent and three other parishes project into Herefordshire. the north, Forthampton, Twyning and Kemerton are three narrow tongues, each of which is bounded on three sides by the county of Worcester. On the north-east the county boundary is chaotic. The Worcestershire parishes of Staunton and Broadway are almost entirely surrounded by Gloucestershire. The Worcestershire parish of Blockley is completely isolated from its parent Todenham and Lower Lemington are nearly cut off from Gloucestershire, and are bounded by detached portions of the counties of Warwick and Worcester. Adlestrop is an almost square parish with only one side joined to the shire of Gloucester, to which it belongs. But the most remarkable boundaries are in the extreme north-east. An area of Gloucestershire which stretches from Snowshill almost to Stratford-on-Avon, a distance of a dozen miles, is connected with its own county by a strip of land only two or three hundred yards wide, and is gashed on all sides by parishes belonging to the counties of Worcester and Warwick.

The origin of these chaotic boundaries is to be found in the considerations by which they were determined. Great landowners were called upon to do important service in the system of government for which the shires were called into existence. It was therefore important that as far as possible the boundaries of their estates should also be the boundaries of the shire, and these estates often consisted of scattered and isolated areas. It was also desirable that the possessions of great Churches should, as far as possible, be in the county to which the Church belonged. The Churches at Tewkesbury and Deerhurst owned small estates within the boundaries of Warwickshire and Oxfordshire, and some of the property of the Church at Worcester was partly within the boundaries of the county of Gloucester. few small changes have been made in recent times, but with these exceptions the boundaries of the shire remain as they were fixed nine hundred years ago.

## CHAPTER XVI.

#### THE DANES IN GLOUCESTERSHIRE.

• No English King is better known by name than Alfred the Great, and no incident in his life is so well known as the burning of the cakes in the herdsman's hut where he had gone for shelter. The place where this is said to have happened is at Athelney, thirty miles south of Bristol; and the chief thought in Alfred's mind while the cakes were burning was how to fight the Danes who had been ravaging the county of Gloucester.

The first time the Danish army appeared in Gloucestershire was in 877, or exactly three hundred years after the famous battle of Dyrham, when our forefathers first set foot in this county. In the summer of 877 the Danish army went to Exeter, and Alfred and his army besieged the city. The Danes could not get away by water because most of their ships had been wrecked on the vovage to Exeter, and Alfred's army was too strong for them to escape by land. A treaty of peace was made, and the Danes swore that they would keep it. But they soon broke their promise. From Devonshire they came into Gloucestershire, plundered the harvest fields, scattered the people, and at last laid siege to Gloucester. The citizens fought in vain, and the Danes settled down amongst them. in January (878) the Danes left Gloucester, crossed the Cotswold Hills, and went to Chippenham; and then, as the Chronicle says, "they rode through the West-Saxons' land, and there sat down, and many of the folk they drove over sea, and most of the others they rode over, but King Alfred and a little band went into the woods and the moors." It was then that Alfred went to Athelnev. There he made his plans and gathered his forces, and in May he went forth again to do battle with the Danes. At Edington, in Wiltshire. he caught them, defeated them with heavy loss, and another treaty of peace was made, known as the treaty of Wedmore. The Danes soon broke this treaty, for

in the following year (879) they again came into Gloucestershire, and settled in Cirencester. It seems to have been a peaceful settlement, for there is no record of fighting or of plundering. After staying in Cirencester for a year they returned to the east of England, and Alfred ruled his kingdom in peace for fourteen years.

In the year 804 there was more fighting with the Danes in Gloucestershire. A Danish army in Essex crossed England on their way to join their fleet. Ethelred, who had married Alfred's daughter, and two chief men from Wilts and Somerset, went in pursuit, and caught them at a place which the Chronicle calls "Buttingtune, on the Severn shore," and probably is Buttington, near Chepstow. The Danes fortified the place and fought hard, hoping that the fleet would be able to come to their rescue. But the fleet was at Exeter, and was kept there by Alfred, who had a strong army with him. The siege at Buttington went on for many weeks, and the Danes were so short of food that they were obliged to eat their horses. Their distress and hunger at last became so great that they left their stronghold and attacked their besiegers. They were defeated with great slaughter, and those who were not killed saved themselves by flight.

A great deal of fighting went on nearly all over England during the next few years, but little, if any, in Gloucestershire. This was probably due to the great military ability and energy of Alfred's daughter. Ethelflaed, known in history as "The Lady of the Again and again she fought with the Mercians." Danes and defeated them, and for seven years after the death of her husband (Ethelred) she was the ruler of the whole of the Mercian Kingdom, which then included the greater part of Gloucestershire. She died at Tamworth and was buried at Gloucester, in the Abbey of St. Peter. It is a source of pride to Gloucestershire people that their county formed a part of the Kingdom over which Alfred the Great ruled, and that although he was buried in Winchester his daughter was laid to rest in the great Abbey of their county town.

The great work begun by Alfred, and continued by his daughter Ethelflaed, was finished by his son Edward the Elder. Mercia, Essex, and East Anglia were in turn won from the Danes, and the north of England, Scotland, and Wales did homage to him. Edward thus became Lord of all Britain, which for the first time became one kindgom.

For nearly a hundred years after the death of Edward there were no fresh invasions of the Danes, although there was a good deal of fighting with them. But at the end of the tenth century the invasions were resumed. They were, too, of a different character from the former invasions. The Danes' object now was not simply to plunder or to settle, but to conquer the country. Unfortunately, England was ruled by a weak King, named Ethelred, known as Ethelred the Unready, who made little attempt to fight the Danes, and tried to prevent their plunder by paying them large sums of money. Failing to bribe them, he tried to murder them. and that brought fresh trouble upon him. In 1013 a Danish king named Swegen landed in England, conquered the old Danish districts of the north and east. and Alfred's Kingdoms of Wessex and Mercia submitted to him without a struggle.\* Swegen died in the following vear, and his son Canute was chosen by the Danish warriors as King of England. Ethelred's eldest son, Edmund Ironside, tried to win back the Crown, and fought several battles, but in a great fight in Essex, in 1016, he was completely overthrown. Edmund came into Gloucestershire to raise another army, but his chief followers advised a peaceful settlement. Canute came into Gloucestershire to him, and the two men met on an island in the Severn called Alney, near Gloucester. There they agreed to divide the Kingdom between them.

<sup>\*</sup> A few places in Gloucestershire have Danish names. Thorpe and throp in Danish mean the same as ton and ham in English—a village. Near Cirencester are Hatherop, Southrop' Boutherop (or Eastleach Martin), Cockrup, and Williamstrip, which may have been settlements of the Danes after the battle of Edington. Near Gloucester are Brookthorpe, Colthrop, and Woolstrop. Daneway and Denny are also Danish names.

But the treaty did not last long, for Edmund died in the same year, and Canute, the Dane, became King of

all England.

Canute died in 1035, and the Kingdom was divided between his two sons. Harthacanute and Harold. Harthacanute, however, remained in Denmark, defending his possessions there, and in his absence his brother Harold was made King of the whole land. In 1040 Harold died, and Harthacanute came to England, and was crowned. He reigned for two years, and died suddenly while at a wedding feast.

By this time the English people were tired of foreign rulers, and, in the words of the Chronicle, "all folk chose Edward King." Edward, known as Edward the Confessor, was an Englishman, son of Ethelred the Unready, and had been brought up in Normandy, his mother's home. His chief adviser during the early part of his reign was Earl Godwine, a man of great valour and wisdom. The King's sympathy with the Normans, with whom he had spent his early life, led him to bring to England a number of Normans, whom he placed in high positions in the State. Among those who came on a visit to him was his brother-in-law Eustace, Count of Bologne. On their way back to France, some of the Count's men caused a riot in Dover, and several of them were killed, and Edward called on Godwine to punish the townsmen with fire and sword. Godwine stoutly refused to do so: no man under his rule, he said, should be punished until he had been tried and condemned. The angry King summoned Godwine to Gloucester to explain his conduct. Godwine's reply was to get together a large armed force, and with it he set out for Gloucester to demand that Eustace should be given into his power. The night before he would have reached the city he encamped on a hill near Painswick still known as Castle Godwine. There some of the King's messengers met him, and after a consultation it was arranged that the question should be settled in London. When the King and his counsellors met in London they declared Godwine to be an outlaw, and he was banished from the land.

During his banishment a far more important person than the Count of Bologne came on a visit to the King. This was William, Duke of the Normans, afterwards King of England. After his departure, the number of Norman settlers finding favour with the King greatly increased, and Earl Godwine coming back to England was gladly welcomed by the English people. A year after his return he died (in 1053), and his son Harold succeeded to his earldom and became the chief man in the Kingdom next to the King. When Edward died, Harold was at once chosen King in his stead. He was not of the royal line, but neither was Canute, and the only male in the royal line was a little grandson of Edmund Ironsides. Harold, too, had shown himself a great and wise ruler. Gloucestershire men knew that from personal experience. One of his great exploits was in a war with Wales. For it he set out from Gloucester. and to Gloucester he returned when it was over. Further. Edward had recommended that Harold should succeed him, and he was crowned with the best of all titles the wish of the English people. But his coronation was the signal to William, Duke of Normandy, to claim the throne, and ten months afterwards he and Harold met on the battle-field at Hastings, and the English King was killed.

# CHAPTER XVII.

THE NORMAN CONQUEST OF GLOUCESTERSHIRE.

LET us try to suppose that a French army invaded England, that it defeated the English army and killed our King, and that a French Duke became King of England. Next, that the Frenchmen ruled the land, collected the taxes, and used the money as they liked without consulting the people. Next, that, with one exception, all the Bishops were turned out of their

churches, and French Bishops put in their places. Next. that nearly all the landowners were robbed of their land, and the land given to Frenchmen. We need to use our imagination pretty freely to imagine such a complete conquest of England as this, and yet it is what happened after William I. had won the battle of Hastings.

It did not all happen at once. Four years passed before William had earned the title of Conqueror by subduing the whole of England. Here and there the English rose against him, and William put them down with great cruelty. He was hunting in the Forest of Dean when news was brought to him that the English had attacked York and slain three thousand Normans. In revenge he ravaged the whole of the Vale of York, killed those who had joined in the revolt, and destroyed

all the crops, and thousands died of famine.

The people of Gloucestershire submitted without a struggle. Bristol, indeed, took the Conqueror's side, for when three sons of Harold sailed up the Avon to attack the city, the citizens rose against them and drove them away. But the new King treated the landowners of this county in the same way that he treated those in other parts of the Kingdom. Nearly all the English landowners were turned out of their holdings, and their lands given to the King's followers. The greatest sufferer of all from the King's plunder was a Saxon noble named Brictric, who was Lord of Tewkesbury. He held about 20,000 acres of land in this county, and was a man of great power as well as of wealth. Matilda, wife of William the Conqueror, met him in Flanders before her marriage, and it is said that he slighted her affection, and when she came to England she avenged herself by persuading the King to seize all his lands. Whether the story be true or not, Domesday Book shows that the King held about 20,000 acres of land in this county which formerly belonged to Brictric, and after the Queen's death his lands at Leckhampton and Woodchester were restored to him.

One of the Norman nobles rewarded with land taken from English landowners in this county was given

79

nearly 40,000 acres, another, a kinsman of the Conqueror, received nearly 20,000 acres, a third had nearly 13,000 acres, and a fourth nearly 11,000 acres. Among others who had grants of land were the King's standard bearer, the King's physician, the King's cook, and the King's chamberlain. So completely, indeed, did William plunder the English landowners in this county that twenty years after the battle of Hastings only eight of them still held lands which they possessed before the conquest.

The men who helped to conquer England naturally expected reward. William had little of his own to give them, and his only way to reward them was to steal from the English people. But the King did not give the land as a free gift. Each holder had to pay money to the crown. In order to find out how much money he ought to receive, the King had a survey made of the country, which is recorded in Domesday Book. That famous survey was ordered at a court held at Gloucester at Christmas, 1085. An account of what took place at this court is given in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle in the following quaint language:—

"At mid-winter the King was at Gloucester, with his 'witan,' and there held his court five days; and afterwards the Archbishop and clergy had a synod of three days. Archdishop and clergy had a synod of three days.

After this the King had very deep speech with his 'witan' about this land, how it was peopled, and by what men. Then sent he his men all over England, into every shire, and caused to be ascertained how many hundred hides there were in the shire, or what land the King himself had, or what dues he ought to have in twelve months from the shire. Also he caused to be written how much land his Archbishops had, and his suffragan Bishops, and his Abbots, and his Earls; and, though I may relate somewhat prolixly, what or how much each man had, who was a holder of land in England, in land or in cattle, and how much money he might be worth: so very narrowly he caused it to be traced out that there was not one single hide or yard of land, nor even-it is shame to tell, though it seemed to him no shame to do—an ox, nor a cow, nor a swine was left that was not set down in his writ. And all the writings were brought to the King afterwards."

Four of the King's men, or Commissioners, came into Gloucestershire. They were the Norman Bishop of Lincoln; Henry de Ferrieres, who fought with the King

at Hastings; Walter Giffard, who had supplied the King with soldiers and ships for the invasion of England; and Adam FitzHerbert, steward of the royal household. They probably held inquiries at Gloucester, Cirencester, Winchcombe, Bristol, and some central place in the Forest of Dean.

Domesday Book gives the names of all the landowners and how much land each one possessed. The King himself was the owner of a good deal of land, which came to him in two ways. When our English forefathers settled in the county they did not occupy the whole of the land. What was left over belonged to the King, and to the Kings who came after him. Sometimes a landowner committed a great offence against the crown, and then the King seized his lands and added them to his own. This happened in Gloucestershire during the Conqueror's reign. One Earl who had between 30,000 and 40,000 acres in this county, besides land in other parts of England, joined in a rebellion, and King William seized all his estates. Norman Bishop was served in a similar way for joining in a revolt against the King. The land which the King inherited was by these means nearly doubled, and when the Domesday survey was made he owned more than one-fifth of the whole of Gloucestershire.

Before the Norman conquest about one-third of the cultivated land in the county belonged to monasteries at Gloucester, Worcester, Winchcombe, and elsewhere. This had been given them at various times by various Kings. William did not take any of their land, and some of the land which he took from other people he gave to Abbeys in Normandy.

One Bishop, and only one, was not displaced by a Norman. This was the Bishop who ruled over Gloucestershire—Wulfstan, Bishop of Worcester. Gloucestershire was under his rule because the Diocese of Gloucester was not formed until the reign of Henry VIII. Wulfstan was allowed to remain Bishop because he heartily joined the new Norman Archbishop in the work he did to revive Christianity in the land.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

#### LIFE IN THE NORMAN PERIOD.

On the following page is an exact copy of the "writing" which the Domesday Commissioners for Gloucestershire sent to the King about Cheltenham. The language is Latin, a language which was used in Norman and much later times for all official documents. The English translation contains many words which went out of use a long time ago, but their meaning is still known. As the Cheltenham "writing" is a fair sample of the record for all the county, we may learn from it the manners and customs of Gloucestershire people when they were under William's rule. We need, however, also to know something of the system of government during the

Norman period.

When William I. conquered Gloucestershire there were no large towns in it such as there are now. Gloucester, Bristol, Tewkesbury, and Winchcombe were the only towns, and they were small. Cheltenham was only a village; Cirencester, an important city in Roman times, consisted of about seventy houses; Stroud did not exist. The whole population of the county when the Domesday Survey was made was only 50,000, which is the population of the City of Gloucester to-day. Measured by population, Gloucestershire was large as compared with other counties. Only ten counties were larger. Yorkshire had a smaller population, despite its great size, partly because the Conqueror had, in 1069 and 1070, devastated the Vale of York in putting down a revolt against this rule. Warwickshire and Staffordshire, now the homes of toiling millions, were also smaller, and Middlesex and Surrey together, which now include the great City of London, could not muster so many people as Gloucestershire.

Cheltenham, it will be seen, is not spoken of as a parish, but as a manor. There were no parishes in early Norman times. The whole of England was divided into areas called manors, each belonging to FAC-SIMILE OF THE DOMESDAY RECORD OF CHELTENHAM.

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KING'S LAND.

TRANSLATION.

twenty villeins and ten bordars and seven servi, with eighteen plough teams. The priest has bugh teams. There are two mills of eleven shillings and eightpence. To this manor the King's There were eight hides and a half. One hide and a half belong to the church. Reinbald holds it. In the demesne there are three plough teams, and Of these three mills two are the King's, In the time of King Edward the manor paid £9 5s. and three thousand loaves for the dogs. Now it pays £20, and twenty cows and twenty steward added two bordars and four villeins and three mills. the third is the steward's, and there is one plough team more. KING EDWARD held Chinteneham. hogs, and 16s, instead of the loaves, two plough teams.

one man, who was called the lord of the manor. There were farmers in each manor, but none of them owned land: all were tenants, and paid rent to the lord, partly in money and partly in services. If the manor belonged to the King, or to a monastery, or to a lord who did not live upon it, a steward or bailiff was put in charge, who collected the rents and sent them to his master.

The lord of the manor was of course the chief man in the community. Next to him in importance was the priest, that is, if the manor had a church. Besides the lord (or his steward), and the priest, there were three classes of inhabitants. First came the villeins, whose position was in some respects somewhat like that of the tenant-farmer now. Their rent was paid partly in money, partly in services. For two or three days in the week, or at fixed times, such as at' harvest, they had to plough or reap or do other agricultural work for the lord; and they were also liable to be called upon to do special work for him, which sometimes counted as part of the week-work, sometimes as extra to it. But in other respects the position of the villein was quite different from that of the modern tenant-farmer. To sell an ox he had to get his lord's permission; before giving his daughter in marriage he had to get his lord's license; for the grinding of his own corn he had to use his lord's mill, although the charges were extortionate, and some of his flour went into the miller's sack instead of his own; and if he left the village without his lord's leave he was searched for, and, when found, arrested as a fugitive and taken. back.

The second class of inhabitants were sometimes called bordars, sometimes cottars. In position the bordar was somewhat like the modern cottager, with a garden and a right of pasturage over common land. Like the villein, he had to do certain work for the lord of the manor upon the lord's estate, and he had also to obey the same regulations as to personal liberty.

The third class of inhabitants are described as servi. They did not hold land, and in early Norman times the landless man was virtually a slave. "It was not slavery," says the historian Green in his Short History of the English People, "such as we have known in modern times, for stripes and bonds were rare; if the slave was slain, it was by an angry blow, not by the lash. But his master could slay him if he would; it was but a chattel the less. The slave had no place in the justice court, no kinsman to claim vengeance or guilt-fine for his wrong. If a stranger slew him, his lord claimed the damages; if guilty of wrong-doing, his skin paid for him under his master's lash. If he fled he might be chased like a strayed beast, and when caught he might be flogged to death. If the wrongdoer were a woman she might be burnt." The Domesday Survey records more than 2,000 of these slaves in Gloucestershire. For a long time there was a slave market at Bristol. There, says one writer, "you might have seen with sorrow long ranks of young persons of both sexes, and of the greatest beauty, tied with ropes, and daily exposed to sale." William the Conqueror did all he could to put down this vile traffic, and the Bishop who ruled over Gloucestershire constantly went to Bristol and preached against it until it stopped.

The arable land of a manor was divided into four portions. One was held by the lord or by his steward on his behalf: this was called the demesne. A second was held by the priest, and was the chief source of his living; a third was cultivated by the villeins; and a fourth was divided among the bordars or cottars. The land held by the villeins was not cut up into fields, separated from one another by walls or hedges, as is our land now. The fields were quite open, and the separate holdings were divided from one another by narrow strips of unploughed turf or by lines of stones. Each strip, sometimes known as a selion, contained about an acre, and was 22 yards wide and 220 yards long. The 220 yards made a "furrow-long"—that is the length of the drive before the plough was turned, and from this fact we get the lineal measure we call a furlong. It was seldom that two adjoining strips were held by the same owner; and Mr. Gomme, in his book on *The Village Community*, says that "a single farmer might have to cut his portion of grass from twenty different places, though the tenants frequently accommodated one another by exchanging allotments when it was convenient to do so." Each tenant held his strip from ploughing to harvest only, after which cattle were turned out on the stubble of the whole field. These strips were arranged in three fields or areas, each cultivated in successive seasons, so as to obtain a regular rotation of crops.

Land was not measured by acres, roods and perches, as it is measured now. The unit of measurement was what is called a "plough tillage." A plough was in those days an expensive implement, besides which no man below the lord held enough land (then reckoned at about 120 acres) to keep a plough in fairly constant work. Few owners, too, possessed the eight oxen necessary to draw the plough, for the holding would not support such a team: hence a system of co-operative tillage, under which each owner contributed a share of the plough team. Some provided the oxen, and others the plough; and the division of the produce of the field was determined by the share of the labour contributed. The customary division was as follows:—The first strip went to the ploughman, the second to the plough irons, the third to the outside sod ox, the fourth to the outside sward ox, the fifth to the driver, the sixth to the eleventh inclusive to the remaining oxen, and the twelfth for the maintenance of the wood-work of the plough.

The lord of a manor had to send to the King every year money and live stock, part of which he contributed himself, and the rest he had to get from the villeins and bordars in rent. The amount of money and the number of animals which the King received from each manor was partly based upon the number of hides in the manor. Cheltenham had ten hides; Stratton, near Cirencester, had five hides, and sent half as much as Cheltenham; Westbury-on-Trym had fifty hides, and sent five times as much as Cheltenham. The word

"hide," which was in use in England long before the Norman Conquest, originally meant an amount of land sufficient for the support of a family. Before the Norman invasion its meaning had changed; instead of being an area of land it had become a basis for taxation. one of the questions which the Domesday Commissioners asked about every manor was, "How many hides are there in the manor?" and the answer to it showed the King what he ought to get from the manor in taxes. In some cases he found he was getting more from the manor than Edward the Confessor got. Cheltenham, for instance, paid Edward fo 5s. a year, "and three thousand loaves for the dogs." When the Conqueror had his Survey made he found he was receiving £20, twenty cows and twenty pigs, instead of the fo 5s., and 16/- instead of the loaves. But from most manors he was getting less revenue than Edward got, and the Survey showed him where he might add to it. His increased income from Cheltenham was due to the vigilance of his steward, who had put six more men working on the land, and built three more mills; and the King would be sure to let the owners of other manors know that what could be done in Cheltenham ought to be done elsewhere.

It was a simple life that Gloucestershire people lived in the time of the Conqueror. There was very little trade and barter. As far as possible, each village supplied all the wants of the people living in it. Food and clothing were home-grown and home-made. The houses were poor and dirty, generally with wattle-anddaub walls, for stone was seldom used, and bricks did not come into use until the fifteenth century. The floor was of bare earth, windows were a luxury not to be thought of, and chimneys were used only in the houses of the rich. Root crops were unknown, and as a consequence the only cattle kept through the winter were those wanted for ploughing and other work; the rest were killed and salted for winter meat. Sheep were valued chiefly for their wool, and large numbers of pigs were kept, which fed on the acorns and beech-mast in the woodlands.

One great change had taken place in the five hundred years that passed between the battle of Dyrham and the battle of Hastings. For a long time after the battle of Dyrham the only bond between Englishmen was the bond of common brotherhood. Men belonging to one tribe worked together and fought together, but all had equal rights. Some men occupied higher positions than others, some owned more land than others, but there were no lords to pay rent to, or to do work for. By degrees individual freedom got weaker and weaker, and what is called feudalism took its place. Under a feudal system all lands belongs to a King or a Lord. Hence, the man who tills the soil, the man who puts up a workshop, the man who lives in a house, becomes dependent upon King or Lord, and has to pay him, in money or service, or in both ways, for the land he occupies. The system began in England long before the Norman invasion, but the Conqueror put it into full force. It came to an end in the reign of Henry II., but in one "Copyhold land" is land sense it survives to-day. held by copy of the court roll of the manor. The copyholders were probably originally villeins, and they hold their land (nominally now, but once really) at the will of the lord of the manor. Subject to the custom of the manor (which has practically now hardened into general law) copyholders have no greater estate in the land than that of tenants at will, the freehold of the land being vested in the lord. And that lord of the manor is the successor of William the Conqueror or one of the lords to whom he gave land after the battle of Hastings.

## CHAPTER XIX.

Under the Conqueror's Sons.

On a wall in the Chapter House of Gloucester Cathedral are the words:

"HIC JACET ROBERT CVRTVS,"

which translated into English mean: "Here lies Robert

the short of stature." There is also an effigy of Robert. carved in oak, in the choir of the Cathedral. This Robert, best known as Duke of Normandy, was the eldest son of William the Conqueror, and according to modern law was heir to the English throne. But William I, made his own laws, and he decided that his second son William (called William Rufus, because he. had red hair) should follow him as King. So as soon as his father died, William came from Normandy, where he had been living, and was crowned at Westminster as William II. Some of the barons at once took up arms on behalf of Robert, who, they said, was the rightful heir to the throne. Their real reason, however, was that they wanted more power and independence, and they believed that they would be more likely to get both under Robert than under William. The people took the side of the King. They knew from experience that the barons would use their power to oppress them, while the King promised that justice should be done to all. The owner of Bristol Castle took the side of Robert, and soldiers going from it plundered the southern part of Gloucestershire without mercy. Bath was burnt, and the people of Berkeley and the district around were killed or robbed. The northern part of the county was saved from the rebels by Bishop Wulfstan (who was Bishop of Gloucester and Worcester\*), helped by a son of William FitzOsbern, the Norman noble who had peacefully brought Gloucestershire under the rule of the Conqueror. The rebellion was put down, and then the King turned against those who had helped him. He broke all his promises; he robbed the rich and oppressed the poor; he rigorously exacted all the dues to him under the feudal system; he used, indeed, any and every means to get money. Two years after he came to the throne, the Archbishop of Canterbury (Lanfranc) died. Instead of appointing another, he left the office vacant for four years, and put all its revenues into the royal treasury. In the winter of 1092 the

<sup>\*</sup> The Bishopric of Gloucester was not formed until the reign of Henry VIII.

King held a Court at Gloucester, and the men of his Council asked him to allow prayers to be offered in the churches that God might move his heart to select a worthy Archbishop. "Pray as you will," said the King, "I shall do as I think good: no man's prayers will do anything to shake my will." Two months later he became ill while at Alveston, and was taken back to Gloucester. There he confessed his misdeeds, and in his presence, and at his wish, Anselm, a monk who had come from Normandy, was made Archbishop. While he was still on his sick bed ambassadors came to him from Malcolm, King of Scots, on a peaceful mission. William received them with courtesy, and sent a peaceful message back. Malcolm himself came to Gloucester soon afterwards, but the King was now well again, and treated him with scorn, and Malcolm went home and invaded the North of England, where he lost his life. Soon afterwards the followers of Robert, Duke of Normandy, once more rebelled, and some of them met the King at Gloucester, and challenged him to arbitration or to war. William preferred war, and called upon the people to find the money for it. Archbishop Anselm refused to grind his tenants to satisfy the Sovereign's greed, and the King drove him from the country. War did not take place. Robert sold Normandy to the King, and with the money raised an army and joined in the first Crusade for the delivery of the Holy Land from the Turks.

The connection between William Rufus and Gloucester continued to the end of his life. On 1st August, 1100, the Abbot of Shrewsbury preached in the Abbey Church of Gloucester (now the Cathedral). He denounced the wickedness among the high and mighty in the land, and said: "Lo! the bow of wrath from on high is bent against the wicked, and the arrow swift to wound is drawn from the quiver." Next day the King was killed by an arrow while he was hunting in the New Forest.

When William died, some of the friends of Robert, Duke of Normandy, again urged him to claim the throne of England as eldest son of William the Conqueror. Robert left Normandy for the purpose, but when he landed in England he found his brother Henry had been made King, and he returned to France. The great barons still wished to see Robert on the throne, and some of them rose in revolt. One by one Henry captured their castles, and their owners went to Normandy. Many of the Normans in England who were loyal to the King possessed lands in Normandy as well, and the banished barons began to plunder and oppress the people living Duke Robert did nothing to prevent their on them. violence, and Henry went over to Normandy to protect his subjects. Duke Robert fought against him, but was defeated, and brought to England and placed in Cardiff Castle. For twenty-eight years he was kept prisoner at Cardiff or Bristol, and when he died he was, as already stated, buried in the Chapter House of the Abbey at Gloucester.

Henry loved peace, and except for his war with the barons his thirty-five years' reign was a reign of peace. Under his strong and wise rule law and order were maintained, justice was done to all, and trade flourished. During his reign, too, a great deal of church-building went on in this county. Gloucester Abbey and Tewkesbury Abbey were consecrated, and the King himself founded a great Abbey at Cirencester, which he endowed with a considerable amount of land in Gloucestershire and other counties. For four hundred years monks lived in the house set apart for them and worshipped in their church. When the dissolution of the monasteries took place in the reign of Henry VIII. Cirencester Abbey was pulled down, and now all that remains of it is a gateway on the banks of the river Churn in Grove Lane.

# CHAPTER XX.

#### TWENTY YEARS OF MISRULE.

In the east window of Tewkesbury Abbey is a portrait of a Norman noble who was one of the most powerful men in England during the reign of Stephen, the King who succeeded Henry I. This was Robert, Earl of Gloucester. When Henry I. died, some of Robert's friends wanted him to seize the crown, but he refused, and said it lawfully belonged to Matilda, the daughter of Henry I. The barons, however, preferred Stephen, nephew of Henry I., and he was crowned in 1135. of Matilda's friends at once rose in rebellion against the King, and a civil war began. In 1138 Stephen entered Gloucester, and the citizens swore allegiance to him. Bristol took the side of Matilda, and Stephen attacked it. He was beaten off, and then ravaged the surrounding district, a part of which was in the Earldom of Gloucester. Earl Robert at once took up arms, and for the following nine years there was constant fighting between him and the King. A year after Stephen's visit to Gloucester Matilda went there, and those who refused to take her side were cruelly tortured. Earl Robert went north, and captured the city of Worcester. In revenge, the Earl of Worcester attacked Sudeley Castle, near Winchcombe. A monk of Worcester, who wrote the history of the period, says that "what the Earl did at Sudeley is scarce fit to record: he returned evil for evil, seized the people, their property, and beasts, for booty, and on the morrow returned to Worcester." In 1140 one of Matilda's Earls attacked Winchcombe, captured its castle, and then, crossing the Cotswolds past Circucester, he defeated a small force which had encamped at South Cerney. In a battle at Lincoln, Stephen was defeated, and surrendered to Earl Robert, who took the King to Gloucester Castle, where Matilda was then staying. The King being a prisoner, Matilda thought the time had come for her to become Queen, and she set out for Winchester to be crowned. Her pride and greed.

however, soon set her former adherents against her, and she hastened back to Gloucester, doing the latter part of the journey in a litter so as to hide from her enemies. Earl Robert was taken prisoner, but after a time he and Stephen were set free in an exchange of prisoners. . Fighting was re-commenced, and Stephen once more came into this county. At Cirencester was a castle which Matilda had strengthened. rapidly marched towards it. On getting news that he was coming the keepers escaped, and when Stephen reached it he found it empty. He at once burnt it, and pulled down the ramparts. Two years later, Earl Robert besieged Malmesbury, in Wiltshire. relieved it, and then attacked the castle at Beverstone. a few miles west, in Gloucestershire. Earl Robert marched to meet him, and Stephen turned northward across the Cotswolds and captured the castle of Sudeley.

By this time the kingdom was in a terrible condition. Most of the barons cared neither for Stephen nor Matilda. "They fought among themselves with deadly hatred; they spoiled the fairest land with fire and rapine; in what had been the most fertile of counties they destroyed almost all the provision of bread." If they thought any man had concealed treasure they tortured him to "They hanged up men make him confess where it was. by the feet and smoked them with foul smoke. were hanged up by their thumbs, others by the head, and burning things were hung on to their feet. They put knotted things about their head, and twisted them until they went into the brain. They put men into prisons where adders and snakes and toads were crawling, and so they tormented them. Some they put into a chest short and narrow and not deep, and that had sharp stones within, and forced men therein so that they broke all their limbs. In many of the castles were hateful and grim things which two or three men had enough to do to carry. It was fastened to a beam, and had a sharp iron to go about a man's neck and throat, so that he might noways sit, or lie, or sleep, but he bore all the iron. Many thousands they starved with hunger."

The historian of the time who gives us these horrible details of the nation's misery adds: "Men said openly that Christ and His saints were asleep."

Earl Robert died in Bristol in 1147, and a few months later Matilda joined her husband and her young son in Normandy, and gave up the struggle. Five years later her son, named Henry, a young man of nineteen, came to England with an army from France, and began a war against the King. Stephen soon tired of the conflict, and by a treaty made at Wallingford it was arranged that Stephen should retain the crown for life, and Henry should be his heir. The lawless barons were subdued, many of their castles destroyed, and peace was established. Within a year Stephen died, and the crown passed to Matilda's son, Henry II.

### CHAPTER XXI.

# A GREAT LAW MAKER.

THREE times a year judges come from the Law Courts in London to Gloucester and hold Assizes for the trials of prisoners. Four times a year magistrates of the county meet in Gloucester and hold Quarter Sessions for the same purpose. Suppose a man is charged with stealing a horse, and he has been sent for trial at the Assizes or Quarter Sessions, his case is first of all considered by what is called a Grand Jury. This consists of a number of men from different parts of the county. They hear the evidence, and decide whether or not the prisoner shall be put upon his trial. If they decide that he shall be tried, he is taken before a judge and another jury, consisting of twelve men. They hear all the evidence against the prisoner and all that can be said in his favour, and then the jury have to say whether he is guilty or not guilty. If their verdict is that he is not

guilty, he is discharged. If the verdict is that he is guilty, the judge sentences him to imprisonment.

This system of trying prisoners is the result of a series of law reforms which began in the reign of Henry II. Before his time, if a man was charged with a crime he could meet the charge by swearing to his innocence and by bringing men who knew him to swear that his oath was true. If he failed to bring such men -who were called compurgators-he was tried by an ordeal which was called "the judgment of God." Hot iron was put into his hand, or he was thrown into deep water; if the iron did not burn him, or if he sank in the water, he was held to be innocent. Henry abolished compurgation, but kept the ordeal. Twelve men in each district called a hundred, and four from each township in the hundred, had to enquire into all offences committed in the hundred, and to try by ordeal persons who on common report might have been guilty of them. Our grand jury to-day is a survival of the judicial system which Henry II. established. The difference between the grand jury and Henry's sixteen men is that the sixteen men accused a prisoner and tried him, whereas the grand jury only decide whether a man shall or shall not be tried. It was also in Henry's reign that Assizes were permanently established for the trials of prisoners.

Henry also made another important alteration in the law. Under the Norman system, if two men had a dispute about property, the dispute came before a law court, where each man swore to the justice of his own case, and brought compurgators to do the same. If the court could not decide which man was right, both men had to undergo the ordeal, or to fight a duel. Henry introduced what is called a system of Recognitions. Any dispute about land was taken to the Sheriff of the county in which the land was situated. The Sheriff selected four knights, and these four chose twelve other knights, who had to find out the truth about the dispute. If they did not agree, other knights were added to their number until twelve were of one mind, and their verdict was accepted as final.

In our Assize Courts disputes about property are often decided by a jury of twelve men, after hearing the evidence of both parties to the dispute. The trials of such disputes by jury is a development of the system of Recognitions which was established by Henry II. in his reform of the law for the administration of justice.

In 1163 the King held a court in Gloucester, at which another alteration he proposed in the law was considered. At that time, if any man who was not a clergyman committed a crime he was tried in the King's court, and if he had done murder he could be hanged. A clergyman who was charged with any offence could only be tried in an ecclesiastical court, that is, a court under the control only of the Church, and even if he had committed murder he could not be executed. Henry wanted all offenders brought for trial in the King's court, and he thought it would help him to do so if he made Thomas à Becket, who held the office of Chancellor of England, Archbishop as well as Chancellor. Thomas objected. "If you do," he warned the King, "you will soon hate me as much as you love me now, for I will never assent to your authority in the affairs of the Church." In spite of the warning Henry persisted, and Thomas became Archbishop of Canterbury. act was to resign his office as Chancellor, because he said he could not serve two masters—the King and the Church. The King at once called upon the Archbishops and all the Bishops to promise to obey what were called the customs (or laws) of the realm. At the court which he held in Gloucester in 1163 the King received a promise from some of the bishops, and the rest soon followed their example.

A few months later a great Council was held at Clarendon, at which the customs of the realm were put into writing under sixteen heads, known as the Constitutions of Clarendon. After a long hesitation, Thomas a Becket gave his assent to them, but soon withdrew it. A quarrel with the King followed, and Thomas fled to France. There he remained for six years. Meantime the King, adopting a plan which was followed in France,

had his son Henry crowned, so as to secure his succession to the throne. The coronation ought to have been done by the Archbishop of Canterbury: in his absence, it was done by the Archbishop of York. In 1170 a reconciliation took place between the King and Thomas. As soon as he had landed in England, the Archbishop quarrelled with the bishops who had taken part in the coronation. The King was at this time in France, and the bishops crossed the sea and laid their complaint before him. On hearing it he passionately cried, "What a parcel of fools and dastards have I nourished, that none of them can be found to avenge me on one upstart clerk!" Four of his knights at once went to Canterbury, and forced their way into the Archbishop's palace. After a stormy meeting, the knights withdrew to arm, and Thomas was hurried by his friends into the Cathedral. There the knights found him, and tried to drag him from the church. He struggled to prevent them, and in an outburst of wrath they struck him to the ground, and sword cuts ended his life. It was a brutal murder, and, sad to relate, one of the four knights who committed it was a Gloucestershire man named William de Tracy. Four years later the King spent the whole night at Becket's tomb in prayer and tears, and next morning, at his own request, he was scourged by the monks as a proof of his penitence.

# CHAPTER XXII.

# A Long Struggle for Freedom.

In the year 1193 there was a great deal of discontent throughout the county of Gloucester at the heavy taxation imposed upon the people. Henry II. had died four years before, and was succeeded by Richard I.—Richard the Lion-hearted, as he is often called. Richard was a good soldier, but a bad King. Returning from

the Third Crusade, he had been taken prisoner by the Duke of Austria, and put into a German prison, and the English landowners were at once called upon to find the money for his ransom. The amount which each had to pay depended upon the value of the land he held. Some had to pay only a few shillings, others several pounds; but it was a heavy tax to all, for the value of money in those days was far greater than it is to-day, and there were other heavy taxes to be borne as well. After Richard had been ransomed, by the payment of £100,000, and he had returned to England, he began to collect more money by other taxes upon land and by a tax of one-fourth upon all movable property. When he had collected all the money that he could raise, he left the country, and never returned.

Not only did Richard extort heavy taxes from the people, but, so a chronicler of the time tells us, he was ready to sell anything he had got to raise money, and was quite ready to sell anyone else's property as well. One of the ways by which he obtained money was to sell charters to certain towns. These charters gave the townspeople the right to manage their own affairs, and also exemption from some of the King's Gloucester had been granted a charter by taxes. Henry II., but Richard gave the city a new charter, with greater privileges to the citizens. Among these privileges was the right to form trading associations, and a Merchants' Guild was established which for many generations afterwards took a large share in the government of the city and in the development of its trade. The town of Cirencester, and a number of villages in the neighbourhood, were sold by the King to the Abbot of Cirencester for £100 in cash—a large sum in those days—and a rent of £30 a year. In return for these payments the Abbot became the head of the town, imposed his own taxes, made his own regulations for the government of the town, set up his own court for the trial of offenders, had his own prison for prisoners, and even his own gallows for executions. The liberty which Gloucester obtained under its charter, and the

want of liberty from which Cirencester suffered under the charter granted to the Abbot, had in one sense the same effect. People everywhere began to ask for more

liberty, and to struggle for it.

Sixteen years after Richard's death the struggle secured the Great Charter of English Freedom. the troubles of Gloucestershire people during those sixteen years were far greater than they were in the reign of Richard. John not only imposed exorbitant taxation, but imposed it unfairly. This, however, was only a small part of the misery he caused to the people. The Archbishop of Canterbury having died, a new one had to be chosen. The monks of Canterbury had the right to elect, and used it, but at the bidding of the King they then elected a man chosen by him. The Pope refused to accept the new Archbishop, and at his command the monks elected another—Stephen Langton. The King was furious, and drove the monks out of the kingdom. The Pope replied with an interdict. This meant the entire closing of all the churches. Baptism could only be administered privately, marriages took place at the church door instead of inside the church, the dead were buried in silence, and sermons were preached in the open air. Three bishops were chosen to publish the interdict, and one of them was the Bishop of Worcester, whose diocese included the county of Gloucester. Fearing the violence of the King, they at once left the country. John at once seized their property, and confiscated the revenues of the clergy and monks in their dioceses. The interdict lasted for nearly five years. During that time the clergy in Gloucestershire were robbed of their income, and had to depend upon the gifts of the people for a living. John's defiance at last wore out the papal patience. The Pope deposed him from his throne, and invited the King of France to become King of England. John would have fought, but he was afraid his army might turn against him, so he submitted. He solemnly surrendered his crown and realms into the hands of the Pope, and received them back as the Pope's servant.

The Bishop of Worcester and the other exiled bishops returned to England, and John restored to them and to their dioceses the property which he had taken from them. The clergy of Gloucestershire therefore got back the incomes of which they had been robbed, and church services were held as before. The tyranny of the King, however, was in no way lessened. Gloucestershire was particularly unfortunate, for it suffered not only from the tyranny of the King, but also from the extortionate rule of its Sheriffs. For about six years the Sheriff was a Frenchman named Gerard, and when he died he was succeeded by a relative. Both used their authority to enrich themselves by inflicting fines upon districts and individuals which were grossly illegal, but which the sufferers were powerless to At last the barons, the clergy, and the people, sinking their own differences, joined hands against the King, and in 1215 forced from him the Magna Charta. Twice after that John visited Gloucester. His failure to observe the Charter led to a rebellion in the West, and he staved for a short time in Gloucester while trying to repress it. Shortly afterwards, Louis, son of Philip of France, landed in England, at the invitation of the barons, for the purpose of taking the crown. Driven westward, John went to Gloucester, where Louis and all his supporters were solemnly excommunicated by the Pope's representative. Even when his reign was closed by his death, Gloucestershire still retained a reminder of John's miserable rule by his burial in the Cathedral of its diocese, the Cathedral of Worcester.

The long reign of the King who succeeded John began at Gloucester. It was in what is now Gloucester Cathedral, then the church of a great Abbey, that the coronation of Henry III. took place in October, 1216. The crown had been lost when the royal treasures were swept away by the tide as John was crossing the Wash, and in its stead a fillet of gold was laid on the boy-King's head. William the Marshal, Earl of Pembroke, was appointed "ruler of the King and his kingdom,"

and used his power wisely. So also did Hubert de Burgh, who took his place when he died. Both had very difficult work to do. They had to maintain the authority of the King and at the same time to help the people in keeping the King's foreign friends from occupying high positions among them. "England for the English" was their motto, and so long as they were in power they acted upon it. Before he was twenty years of age, Henry took the government into his own hands, and then the good that William the Marshal and Hubert had done was undone, and a new period of misrule began. The King's favourite was Peter des Roches, Bishop of Winchester, a greedy and unscrupulous Frenchman, who used his position to enrich himself and his friends. At his instigation Hubert was dismissed from office and thrown into prison, and a crowd of Frenchmen came to England and were appointed to all the rich and influential positions which became Moreover, the King broke the pledge which he had given at his coronation to rule in accordance with the Great Charter.

The discontent which the King's policy aroused led to a rebellion, some of the chief events of which were connected with the county of Gloucester. The leader of the rebellion was Richard the Marshal, Earl of Pembroke, and son of William the Marshal who had been guardian and ruler of the boy-King. Twice Henry summoned the barons who had joined the rebellion to attend a council, and each time they refused to obey the summons. In August, 1233, the King held a great council in the city of Gloucester, at which Richard was declared to be a traitor, and from Gloucester Henry and a band of French soldiers went into South Wales and seized the Earl's castle and ravaged his lands. The other barons successfully resisted the King's attacks, and in November the King was forced to return to Meantime, Richard the Marshal had Gloucester. recovered possession of his castle, and so many flocked to his standard that early in the new year Henry gave up the fight and submitted to their terms for peace.

Not only were the foreigners, including Peter des Roches, expelled from the offices which they held, but, at a council which the King held in Gloucester at Easter, Hubert de Burgh was taken back into the royal favour,

and his earldom and property restored to him.

The peace between King and people was, however, of short duration. Three years later (in 1236) Henry married Eleanor, daughter of the Count of Provence, a country in southern France. The Queen was accompanied to England by her four uncles and a crowd of relatives and friends, among whom Henry distributed rank and office with as much profusion as he had distributed them before the revolt under Richard the Marshal. For twenty years this misgovernment went on, and the indignation which it caused was increased by the taxes of Pope and King. Then came a great national movement to rid the country of foreign officials and to put an end to the misrule of the King. leader, strangely enough, was himself a Frenchman-Simon de Montfort—and he added to the disfavour with which the people regarded him by marrying the King's sister. But he put loyalty to the right before loyalty to the King, and soon proved himself to be a champion of the people's cause. A bad harvest in 1258 caused great distress, and thousands died of starvation, yet Henry demanded for the Pope one-third of the revenue of the whole country. The barons rose in arms against the demand, and forced from the King the appointment of a Committee—twelve from their party and twelve from the King's—to reform the realm. What was unjustly called the Mad Parliament met at Oxford to receive the Report of the Committee, whose proposals are known as the Provisions of Oxford. King and his eldest son, Edward (afterwards Edward I.), swore to be faithful to the Provisions, and for a time Edward worked with Earl Simon on the people's side. But it was soon evident that the King had complied against his will: a quarrel among the barons encouraged him to attempt to resume his old authority; and in 1261 he announced that the Pope had declared the

Provisions to be null and void, and had released him from his oath to observe them.

Attempt after attempt was made to induce the King to keep the Provisions, but in vain, and in 1263 Simon, at the head of the barons and of the nation, took up arms against him. Gloucestershire was the scene of two of the earliest conflicts. A French knight. named Matthew de Besille, was appointed Constable (or head) of the city and Sheriff of the county. The barons of Gloucestershire refused to acknowledge him. and elected Sir William Tracy, a Gloucestershire man, to be Sheriff. A Sheriff in those times had far more power than a Sheriff possesses now, for he was really the ruler of the county, and therefore it was not surprising that the people resented being ruled over by a Frenchman. The rival claims of the two Sheriffs led to violence. When Sir William attempted to hold his court in Gloucester, Sir Matthew entered the building with an armed force, pulled him from his seat, dragged him through the streets, and shut him up in Gloucester Castle. Sir John Giffard, of Brimpsfield Castle, and Sir Roger de Clifford, a kinsman, at once gathered a force and besieged the Castle, and not only set Sir William Tracy free, but also made de Besille a prisoner. This struggle for the shrievalty was soon afterwards followed by an attack on the city of Gloucester, then in the possession of the King. Sir John Giffard and Sir John de Baalun (a Gloucestershire landowner), dressed as Welsh merchants and mounted on woolpacks, rode up to one of the city gates and asked for admission. getting inside they threw aside their cloaks, and showed themselves to be armed from head to foot. The gatekeepers were so affrighted that they gave up their keys and fled, and Simon de Montfort, his son, and an armed force at once entered the city. Prince Edward, who was at Oxford at the time, hastily crossed the Cotswolds with a small army of foreign soldiers, and attempted to recapture the city. He was defeated, but he managed to enter the city alone and make his way to the Castle (which had not fallen into Simon's hands) and hoist his flag on the tower. Fighting went on for some days, and was ended by a truce. If the truce had been kept the war would have been ended, for its terms were that the barons should withdraw from the city, and that the King would grant all their demands. But the truce was not kept. As soon as the barons had departed, Edward allowed his soldiers to pillage the city, and he put the principal citizens into prison until they had paid a heavy fine.

At the end of the year (1263) both parties submitted themselves to the arbitration of Louis IX., King of France, who, in what is known as the Mise (or settlement) of Amiens, decided that the nation should unconditionally surrender to the King. whole country refused to do so, and war was resumed. In May there was a battle at Lewes, in which the royal army was beaten and the King and his sons became Earl Simon's prisoners. A truce called the Mise of Lewes was concluded, by which all matters of dispute were again referred to arbitration. The patriotism of Earl Simon showed itself in the Parliament which he summoned in 1265. Up to this time only the barons, bishops and abbots had sat in the council of the nation. To the new Parliament Earl Simon also summoned two knights from each shire and two representatives of certain towns. Two men went from the county of Gloucester, besides the barons and the abbots. It was the first representative Parliament ever held in England, the first time that merchants and traders were called upon to help in making the laws of the land. there was too much disturbance in the country for men to meet quietly and talk, even with the guidance of Earl Simon. Before the year was out great events occurred in and near the county of Gloucester which entirely changed the course of national affairs. After the victory at Lewes Earl Simon travelled about the country with the King as his prisoner, and in December, 1264, they were together in Gloucester. Some lords on the western side of the Severn had rebelled against Earl Simon, and from Gloucester he marched against them.

They were defeated, and banished to Ireland for one year, but they refused to go, and Earl Simon was soon too busy in other ways to carry out his sentence upon them. Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, who had hitherto been a strong helper of Earl Simon, and ranked next to him in the leadership of the barons, quarrelled with him and joined the royal party. Sir John Giffard, who had been another colleague, also went over to the King's side. And although the King and his son Edward were not put into prison, they were kept close captives in Earl Simon's army, and this kindled a feeling of loyalty to Henry and weakened Earl Simon's influence.

In April, 1265, Earl Simon and his royal prisoners entered Gloucester, where they stayed for about a fortnight. Gilbert de Clare and his brother, who was Governor of St. Briavel's castle, had collected a small army to fight for the King, and against Earl Simon. The Bishop of Worcester, anxious to avoid bloodshed, acted as mediator between the two Earls, and they were reconciled. But the renewed friendship soon ended. At the end of May Prince Edward escaped, and joined Gilbert de Clare, Sir John Giffard, and other barons, and at once began a fierce attack on Earl Simon and his followers. They seized Worcester, and then marched to Gloucester. For two days the little garrison at Gloucester held out against the besiegers, and then was obliged to surrender. Earl Simon with a large army, which contained a number of Welshmen, was still on the western side of the Severn; his son, with another army, was in Sussex. Edward rightly judged that the two armies would try to join, and that his best course was to keep them apart. His soldiers at Gloucester would prevent the Earl crossing the Severn there; there was no bridge at Tewkesbury by which he could get over; and the likeliest places for the Earl to ford the river were in the neighbourhood of Worcester. Edward therefore marched to Worcester, and there waited, at the same time keeping a sharp look-out for both armies. One day news was brought him that the younger de Montfort had reached Kenilworth, only a few miles distant. Marching all night, Edward

reached Kenilworth at dawn. His enemies were taken

by surprise, and easily defeated.

Meantime Earl Simon had forded the Severn at Kempsey, four miles below Worcester, and a few hours later he took possession of Evesham. Early in the following morning—August 4th, 1265—a large force was seen approaching along the Alcester road. Thinking them to be his son's troops, especially as they were carrying his banners, Earl Simon went out to meet them. He soon discovered his mistake. The army was Prince Edward's, and the Earl's banners they carried had been captured from his son at Kenilworth. The battle had scarcely begun when Earl Simon saw that all was lost. His half-armed Welshmen fled as soon as they were within fighting distance of their foes, and were either cut down in the cornfields and gardens or drowned in the Avon. The barons and their own soldiers kept up the unequal contest for two hours, and at last Earl Simon was left almost alone. Surrender or death stared him in the face. He refused to surrender; a blow from behind felled him to the ground, and in a few moments his long and strenuous life came to an end.

The battle of Evesham, however, did not end the good work which Earl Simon had done. It was carried on by Edward, who was allowed by the King to be the real head of the Government, and five years after Earl Simon's death the country was so peaceful that Edward left the country and joined the Crusaders. In 1272 Henry III. died, after reigning for fifty-six years, and the victor of Evesham came to the throne.

## CHAPTER XXIII.

# DAILY LIFE OF THE PEOPLE.

FROM the sounds of battle and the tedious story of fifty-six years' misrule by Henry III. we turn to the daily life of Gloucestershire people when Henry died and was succeeded by his son Edward I.

The classes of people remained very much as they were in early Norman times. There was the lord of the manor, who owned all the land upon the manor. There was the villein, whose social position was something like that of our tenant-farmer. There was the ordinary cottager, who worked for the farmer and for the lord. There was also the labourer, who was not a householder, and who lived where he worked. But although the classes of people were much the same as in the days of William I. and William II., a change had taken place in their conditions of service. In the early Norman period, as we have seen (pp. 83, 84), even the villein, or tenant-farmer, lived a life of service to his lord: the cottar, or cottager, did the same; while the serf, or labourer, was a slave. Every man and woman who lived upon the manor was in some degree in bondage to the lord of the manor, and compelled to do certain work for him. A register still exists, written in the middle of the twelfth century, which gives the names of persons living on the manor of Cirencester, and the kind of work which each had to do for the lord at that time. It states, among other things, that Godfray Thucke used to mow three acres and a half of corn, and for three days to cut grass and make hay, and hoe; Segrim had to carry hav and corn, and mow an acre: Aldic de la Barre had to find a plough; Walverie had to work among the swine; Robert the Sluggard "ought to mow an acre of land and do haymaking work," but apparently he did not always do it, and hence his nickname. A number of men, whose names are given, had to give their whole service to the lord if he required it. Widows and boys were not expected to work on the land for the lord, but they had to pay him money instead. Every man living on the manor, however, whether he had any land for himself or not, was compelled to work for his lord. "There is no man so free," says the Cirencester register, "but he is bound to plough and to carry with a wagon if he has one, or with a cart." The service to the lord was owed by the person, not by the land.

When Edward I. came to the throne this system had been changed. Instead of the service being owed by the person it was owed by the land. A Cirencester register of the time of King John shows the change very clearly. There were forty small farms on the manor, and the register states what the occupier of each farm had to do for the lord besides paying him rent. Here are a few examples. The man who had the land then held by a man named Baldwine had to pay 5/- a year and provide the lord with three men every day during havmaking and harvest. The man who had the land then held by John Sails had to pay 3/- and work with fork and flail, that is, help in the threshing. The man who had seven other pieces of land had to keep the lord's oxen, the lord providing fodder. The holder of the land then held by Robert Erkenhald had to provide two or three greyhounds for the lord when he went hunting. In every case the work done for the lord by a farmer or cottar was really a part of his rent, for if he had not done any work his rent would have been higher.

But although there had been a great change in the conditions under which the farmer and the cottar held land, there had been little change in the position of the labourer. He was still tied to the manor, and if he went away could be brought back. He had to work for the lord whenever required to do so, and in return the lord had to feed him. A document of the period tells us the sort of food men generally had. Breakfast consisted of porridge made of beans or peas, bread made of mixed wheat and rye, meat, and beer. When the day's work was done there was a second meal, at which the men had bread and cheese, or else bread, porridge, herrings, or some other fish, and water. the only meals that were served to the men, but at mid-day they ate food which they had taken with them to their work.

The value of a day's work in the thirteenth century is set out in documents relating to the manors which belonged to Gloucester Abbey. The ploughing of an acre of land on the Cotswold Hills was reckoned to be

worth  $2\frac{1}{2}$ d. or 3d., but land in the Valley of the Severn, which took longer because it was heavier and harder to plough, was valued at 4d. or  $4\frac{1}{2}$ d. A day's mowing cost  $2\frac{1}{2}$ d. to 3d., a day's haymaking Id., and a day's reaping 2d. to  $2\frac{1}{2}$ d. Manual work of any kind except upon the land was paid for at the rate of only a halfpenny a day. Wages being so low, of course the prices of food were low too. In the accounts kept at Berkeley Castle in the thirteenth century, and which still exist, wheat was valued at from 3d. to 7d. per bushel, an ox Io/- to I2/-, a fat porker 2/-, a lamb Iod., a fat goose threepence, pigeons were a farthing each, and twenty eggs were sold for a penny. Wool was plentiful, there was a spindle in nearly every home, and clothing was home-made.

The daily life of Gloucestershire people at this time was, however, by no means pleasant and peaceful. Besides the misrule and extortion of monarchs, they also suffered from the oppression of the lords of manors. There were no land laws; everything concerning the tenure of land was settled by custom. But it was a lord of the manor who originally settled the custom, and therefore he alone could alter it. There was a manor court where disputes between a lord and his tenants could be heard, but the lord's officers were the judges and the tenants got little justice, and still less mercy. It was of no use to go to any other court. A number of tenants on the manor of Cirencester did so in the reign of Henry III. The common law of the land was more just than the custom of the manor, and these tenants tried to get their disputes heard in the King's court, and be tried by common law, instead of in the manor court, where they were tried according to the custom of the manor. But the Abbot of Cirencester, who was the lord of the manor, objected, and the King's court decided that it could not interfere with the Abbot's rights.

The injustice of the manor court was only one of the grievances of which the people complained. Another grievance was the payment demanded by the lord for a

transfer of land. A farmer held his farm for life and, so long as he paid his rent and did the requisite work for his lord he could not be ejected from it. When he died, however, the lord took possession of it without paying anything for the improvements that had been made upon it, and he also claimed the best horse or the best beast that the dead man owned. Then if, as was natural, the widow or son asked to keep on the farm, the lord exacted a heavy payment for granting the request.

By custom or by charter the lord of the manor had absolute power over all who dwelt upon it. He settled what taxes the people should pay him; he kept a pillory and a ducking-stool for the punishment of those who committed small offences; he had his own court for the trial of prisoners, and his own goal in which to put them; and he kept his own gallows whereon they could be hanged. Hanging in those days was a common occurrence, and was sometimes profitable for the lord of the manor, because he claimed the felon's goods. A monastic history of Tewkesbury Abbey records that one of its Abbots heard that a man on one of his manors in Somerset had been arrested, and that the Earl of Gloucester was about to have the man tried. Thereupon the Abbot hastened into Somerset, got the man tried at once, borrowed a neighbour's gallows, and had the man hung before the Earl knew anything about it.

It was, therefore, with high hopes that local oppression as well as national misrule would come to an end that Gloucestershire people hailed the accession to the throne of Edward the First.

### CHAPTER XXIV.

#### GOVERNMENT BY THE PEOPLE.

EDWARD was on his way home from the Crusades when his father died, and did not reach England until two years afterwards. Immediately after his arrival he appointed Commissioners to inquire into the doings of barons and lords of manors. His object was to put an end to their oppression of the people and to have all disputes heard, and all prisoners tried, in his own courts. The Commissioners' report was brought before a Parliament held in Gloucester in 1278, and what are known as the Statutes of Gloucester were passed. These Acts directed the King's judges who travelled the country holding Assizes to require all barons and lords of manors to show by what authority they ruled over the people upon their lands. Some of the barons were very angry at what they thought to be an interference with their rights. The Earl of Warrenne, when asked for his authority, produced an old rusty sword, and cried: "See, my lords, here is my warrant. My ancestors came with William and conquered their lands with the sword; with the sword I will defend them against anyone who wishes to usurp them. For the King did not conquer and subdue the land by himself, but our forefathers were with him as partners and helpers." But the King was not to be moved from his purpose. The opposition, indeed, only made him the more determined to do justice, and in 1301, when Parliament again met in Gloucester, another Act was passed, which required all bishops, earls, barons, and others to show their authority for the powers which they claimed the right to use. A long time elapsed before the people were entirely freed from the oppression of the great landowners, but the first great step towards freedom was taken when Parliament passed the Statutes of Gloucester.

Edward's great ambition was to become sole monarch of the whole island, and to conquer Wales

and Scotland. Llewellyn, Prince of Wales, had been summoned to do homage to the King at his Coronation, and refused. A month afterwards Edward was in Gloucester, and from there sent a message to Llewellyn, calling upon him at once to perform his duty. The Welsh Prince still refused. For two years he rejected the repeated summons, till Edward's patience was exhausted, and a large army marched into North Wales. Deserted by the Welsh chieftains who had been his followers, and driven by the royal army into the mountains, Llewellyn was starved into submission. Four vears later (in 1282) his brother David, who had deserted him in the previous war, again joined him, and together they renewed the struggle for Welsh freedom. Llewellyn was slain, and David captured and executed, and in 1284 Wales was by Act of Parliament formally annexed to England. Three years later a chieftain in South Wales rose in rebellion. The King was at the time out of England; his cousin, the Earl of Cornwall, who acted in his stead, went to Gloucester, where he was joined by a number of soldiers; and from Gloucester they marched into Wales, captured and hanged the rebel, and routed his force. In 1295 another revolt was suppressed, and for a hundred years afterwards Wales remained in the peaceful possession of the English crown.

Edward conquered Scotland in 1296, by a decisive victory over the Scots at Dunbar. In the following year some of the Scots rose in rebellion, under the leadership of Wallace, defeated an English army near Stirling, and then invaded England. In 1298 Edward marched against them, and won a great battle at Falkirk. Wallace escaped to France, but the rebellion went on, and was not quelled until 1304. In one of the fights during this campaign a number of Scotch prisoners were sent to Gloucester Castle, and during the absence of the Constable some of them escaped, and took armour with them. Although they had thus been conquered twice, first in 1296, and then in 1304, the Scots rose again in 1306, this time under the leadership of the

famous Robert Bruce, who was crowned King of Scotland. For the third time Edward conquered the country, but Bruce escaped, and in 1307 Edward once more set out for Scotland. On his way there he died, leaving the contest to be carried on by his son. Seven years later Bruce completely defeated the English at the battle of Bannockburn, near Stirling, and Scotland secured independence.

War cannot be waged without great expenditure, and the wars with Wales and Scotland compelled Edward I. from time to time to raise large sums of money. The first special tax he levied was an export duty of 6s. 8d. on every sack of wool sent out of the country. In those days, as now, farmers on the Cotswold Hills bred large flocks of sheep, and probably some of them feared that this heavy tax on English wool would prevent the foreigner buying it, and thus their trade would be injured. If they had such a fear it was unfounded. Small wars were constantly breaking. out on the Continent, and few sheep were bred there, and the cloth manufacturers in France, Belgium and Holland were obliged to come to England for the greater part of the wool which they used. By so doing they paid the English duty, and thus helped to provide the King with the money he wanted.

Another plan Edward adopted for raising money was to ask each county and borough to supply it. the summer of 1282 he sent a Commissioner, named John Kirby, out for the purpose, and Kirby employed a man named Richard Rowell to make the requests in A document still exists (known as Gloucestershire. Kirby's Quest) which gives the names of a large number of landowners in this county who paid money to the King, but the amount they paid is not known. In the following year (1283) the King decided that a general tax must be imposed. To get the necessary authority he called Parliament together, and this is the earliest Parliament of which the names of Gloucestershire members have been preserved. There were two members: one was Sir Walter de Helion, of Much Marcle,

near Ledbury; the other was Sir Roger le Rous, who was a landowner at Harescombe, near Gloucester. Both were judges who travelled the country holding Assizes, and they also sat in the King's courts in London. A law was passed that barons and knights should pay one-thirtieth of the value of their movable goods, and that a smaller tax should be levied upon the small landowners.

Twelve years later (in 1295) Edward summoned a Parliament which was really the beginning of the representative system of national government. The form of summons was also remarkable. Copying words from a Roman code of laws, it said: "That which touches all shall be approved by all, and common dangers must be met by measures concerted in common." Every Sheriff was instructed to cause two knights of each shire and two townsmen of each city and borough to be elected. The election for the county, in all probability, took place in the city of Gloucester. The electors were those who occupied land in the county, whether it belonged to themselves or not. Sir Walter de Helion, who had been a member of the previous Parliament, was re-elected, and the other member chosen was Sir Robert de Berkeley, one of the earlier members of the great and numerous Berkeley family. In Gloucester the electors seem to have been all the householders. The two men they elected as members were Roger le Heberer, one of the bailiffs of the city, and Henry le Chaunger, an ordinary citizen. All the representatives received wages to pay their necessary expenses. A county member had four shillings a day, and a borough member two shillings; and the electors had to find the money.

Edward at once saw that he had done wisely in making the new Parliament representative of the people. The barons and knights agreed to pay an eleventh of the value of their movable goods, the clergy a tenth, and the townsmen a seventh. In the following year a Parliament similarly constituted was summoned, and the barons and knights granted a twelfth, and the townsmen an eighth.

The need for help which induced the King to summon a model Parliament soon afterwards induced him to take another step towards national freedom. In 1207 he resolved to take one army to Flanders and send another to Gascony, a country in the south of France. The Barons were willing to go with the King, but a number of them refused to go to Gascony, and prevented the King's officers from collecting money or seizing goods. Edward, however, was not to be baulked of his purpose. To raise money he levied a tax on wool, which the Englishman had to pay, and therefore which had to be paid by all the owners of sheep in the county of Gloucester. An order was issued in the King's name that all the wool of the country should be carried to the seaports, and there weighed and valued and taxed, and refusal to obey the order was punishable by forfeiture of the wool and imprisonment of its owner. At the same time each county was required to furnish 16,000 bushels of wheat, 16,000 bushels of oats, and a supply of beef and pork, for the use of the armies going abroad. The next step was to call upon all men holding land of the annual value of £20 to arm themselves and provide horses and meet in London ready to cross the sea, under the King's command. A spirit of revolt at once made itself manifest among all classes of the people. grievances was drawn up and sent to the King, and he was asked to confirm Magna Charta and other charters, and to grant a new charter, viz., that taxes should be levied only with the consent of Parliament. Although he disliked the demand, Edward saw that he must yield, and while he was crossing the sea to Flanders, the Prince of Wales published in his name a charter granting the people all that they asked.

Gloucestershire, like the rest of the country, had good reason to be grateful for the results of the thirty-five years' reign of Edward I. The tyranny of the lords of the manor was stopped, courts of justice were opened to every man, the people were given a voice in making the laws they had to obey, and the power of levying taxes was transferred from the King to

Parliament. To quote from Professor Stubbs' Constitutional History of England: "Every department of administration felt Edward's guiding and defining hand. The constitution of Parliament which was developed under his hands remains, with necessary modifications and extensions, the model of representative institutions at this day. His legislation is the basis of all subsequent legislation, anticipating and almost superseding constructive legislation for two centuries. His chief political design, the design of uniting Britain under one crown, premature as it was at that moment, the events of later ages have fully justified."

### CHAPTER XXV.

#### A MURDERED KING.

THE most beautiful monument in Gloucester Cathedral, and one of the most beautiful in the Kingdom, covers the body of the King who succeeded Edward I.—his son, Edward II. His reign of twenty years—1307 to 1327—came to an end in Berkeley Castle, where he was barbarously murdered.

The troubles which had ceased when Edward I. died broke out again as soon as his son ascended the throne. The new King was unfit to rule. His chief thought was how to amuse himself. His favourite companion was an ill-bred Frenchman named Piers Gaveston, who made himself so obnoxious to the barons that the King was compelled to send him out of the country. Two years of his reign passed before Edward summoned Parliament. His request for money was granted, but a petition was presented that a number of grievances should be redressed, and his request that Gaveston should be recalled was refused. Three months later—July, 1309—the King again met Parliament, and gave a favourable answer to the petition, and for a few weeks there was contentment in the land. Before the year

was out, however, Gaveston was back in England, and his insolence so exasperated the barons that they called upon the King to banish him for life, and to put the government of the country into the hands of a committee of peers called Ordainers. Edward agreed to the appointment of the Ordainers, but refused to surrender Gaveston. At last Gaveston became so overbearing that the barons seized and beheaded him. During the next four or five years Edward was engaged in an attempt to re-conquer Scotland. Robert Bruce, however, defeated him time after time, and in the famous battle of Bannockburn, 1314, won the Scottish crown.

The country was now in a miserable condition. The King's extravagance caused heavy taxes; plague and famine were seen everywhere; the northern counties suffered from constant invasions by the Scots; riotous bands assembled and robbed the weak and defenceless: and for nearly two years no Parliament was held. The sufferings of the people had little effect upon the King. Relieved of military cares, he sought for new friends and found them in Hugh Despenser and his son, members of a family closely connected with Tewkesbury, where some of them lie buried. They soon made themselves as objectionable to the people as Gaveston did, and the King was unable or unwilling to bring them under proper control. The barons again rebelled, and found a leader in Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, a cousin of the monarch, and the real ruler of the country.

In the Spring of 1321 the disaffection in the West of England brought Edward to Gloucester. Lord Berkeley and Sir John Giffard, of Brimpsfield Castle, were among those who had joined the Earl of Lancaster, and the King summoned them and others to join him in the city. They did not even send him a reply. He then wrote threatening them with punishment unless they assisted him in the maintenance of peace. They treated the threat as they had treated the summons. Almost all the nobility and gentry of Gloucestershire were on their side, for many of them had personally suffered from the Despensers' greed and insolence.

Feeling himself unsafe in Gloucester, Edward, after a three weeks' stay there, went to Bristol Castle. Parliament met in July, and a long list of charges was brought against the Despensers. The King made no effort to defend his friends, and they were condemned to forfeit their lands and go into exile. Two months after this the King took courage and attacked the Welsh castles of three Earls who had risen against him. On his way into Wales he marched to Circucester, where he spent Christmas, and then on towards Gloucester, where he intended to cross the Severn. Meantime, Sir John Giffard and a band of soldiers had seized the city, and besides preventing the King's passage of the river, they waylaid and robbed his carriages near Birdlip. Turning northward up the Severn Valley, the King went to Worcester. There also he failed to cross the Severn, and he proceeded to Bridgnorth. Two barons, named Mortimer (uncle and nephew), barred the Severn passage there, but, failing to get help from Lancaster, they vielded, and the King crossed the river and marched to Hereford. Encouraged by his success, he again marched to Gloucester, which he captured without much fighting, and for nearly a fortnight he made the city his headquarters. Then turning northwards again he routed some of the Earl of Lancaster's forces, and at Boroughbridge, in Yorkshire, he gained a complete victory over the Earl himself and his chief adherents. The Earl was captured, and six days later beheaded in his own Castle at Pontrefact. Sir John Giffard, who was also taken prisoner, was brought to Gloucester, tried, and condemned as a traitor, drawn on a hurdle outside the city gates, hanged on a gallows, and his body cut in quarters; and his Castle at Brimpsfield was destroyed. Lord Berkeley was sent as a prisoner to the Castle of Wallingford, where he died four years later.

The rebellion was crushed, and if Edward had acted wisely the remainder of his reign might have been good for the country and for himself. But once more he showed that when not engaged in war his chief occupation was amusement with worthless companions, whom

he often enriched at other people's cost. While staying at Gloucester he recalled the Despensers, and as a recompense for their banishment granted them riches and honours. The younger Despenser, who was his special favourite, was made Earl of Gloucester and given Berkeley Castle and the whole of Lord Berkeley's estates, and also Sir John Giffard's estates in and around Brimpsfield. Public hatred of the King and his favourites was revived, and the King's vices at last aroused the hostility of the Queen. While she was on a visit to her home in France she was joined by Roger Mortimer, who had been one of the King's prisoners in the Tower of London, and had escaped. Together they framed a plan for the overthrow of the Despensers, and on the 24th September, 1326, the Oueen landed in Suffolk at the head of a band of French soldiers. The King's brothers and cousin joined her, the bishops supplied her with money, and she marched into the country amid the hearty welcome of the people.

The King called upon the Londoners to supply him with an army. They refused, and he at once hurried into the West of England. On October 10th he reached Gloucester, and there tried to collect a force. Again he failed, and crossing the Severn he went into South Wales, and took refuge in Neath Abbey. Feeling unsafe there, he and the younger Despenser, who had fled from London with him, took boat for Lundy Island, a rocky isle in the middle of the Bristol Channel. Contrary winds prevented a landing, and forced them to return to Wales.

In the meantime some stirring events were happening in the county of Gloucester. Having got to Oxford, the Queen rested for a few hours, and then set out on a march across the Cotswolds to the city of Gloucester, where she arrived on the 15th October. There she was joined by barons and soldiers from the north and from Wales, as well as by armed men from the Cotswolds and the Severn Valley. Everywhere, indeed, the people received her gladly. From Gloucester she went to Berkeley Castle, which still remained in the possession

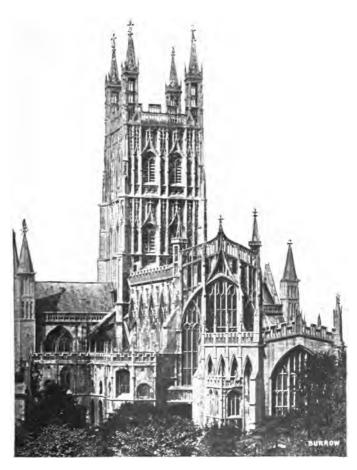
of the younger Despenser, although he was a fugitive with the King. The Lord Berkeley from whom it had been taken and given to Despenser had died in prison, and the Queen at once restored it, and all the Berkeley estates, to the new lord, who was the rightful owner. From Berkeley the Queen marched down the Severn Valley to Bristol, where she arrived on the 26th October. Bristol Castle had been given by the King to the younger Despenser: the Queen seized it, and the citizens, like those at Gloucester, flocked to her standard. While she was in Bristol, the elder Despenser was taken prisoner and hanged on a gibbet, fifty feet high, as a warning to those who would oppress the people. Three weeks later the King was captured in Wales, with the younger Despenser. Despenser was a week afterwards executed at Hereford; and the King was sent a prisoner to Kenilworth Castle, there to be kept until his fate could be decided by Parliament.

The only person who could legally summon Parliament was the King. The Queen put might before right, and her son Edward was proclaimed guardian of the realm, and empowered to act for his father. letters (called writs) which were sent to members of Parliament had to be sealed with the King's seal. was taken from him at Monmouth, directly after his capture, by the Bishop of Hereford; the Queen received it from him to seal the writs; and after it had been thus used it was taken to Cirencester, and handed to the Bishop of Norwich, who was then staying in the Parliament met on the 7th January. members attended it from Gloucestershire—two for the county, two for Gloucester, and one for Bristol. man who took upon himself the office of leader was Adam Orlton, then Bishop of Hereford, and afterwards Bishop of Worcester, and therefore bishop of the county of Gloucester. He told Parliament that the first question to decide was whether they would have father or son to be King, and he gave them a day to consider it. The next day he put the question; four bishops protested, but their protest was useless, and the son was chosen

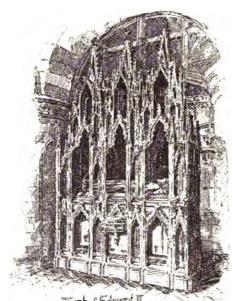
to be King. Two attempts were made to persuade Edward to face Parliament, but in vain, and on a third visit to him, on the 20th January, he resigned the crown, and consented to his son's election in his stead.

The excitement which these events created in Gloucestershire had scarcely subsided when it was increased tenfold by the murder of the deposed King in Berkeley Castle. His son being but a boy of fourteen, the government of the country was in the hands of the Queen and Roger Mortimer. They quickly saw that the country did not favour their rule, and that their position was unsafe so long as Edward II. lived. The Earl of Leicester, to whose custody he had been committed, treated him so kindly that he was taken from Kenilworth and delivered over to two friends of the Queen, Thomas de Gournay and John Maltravers, who took him to Berkeley Castle. Lord Berkeley is said to have treated his royal prisoner with gentleness, but when under the control of Gournay and Maltravers, who resided in the Castle for the purpose, he was subjected to constant cruelty and indignity. At last, Mortimer's patience was exhausted, and he secretly sent orders to the two keepers that Edward must be killed. On the night of September 21st, 1327, Lord Berkeley was ill, and taking advantage of his illness Gournay and Maltravers entered the King's room, threw him to the floor, and while his screams of agony filled the Castle they barbarously put him to death with a red-hot iron.

The murder sent a thrill of horror through the country, and especially the county of Gloucester, where, by his frequent visits, Edward had become well known. To add to it, trouble arose as to his burial-place. The church of an abbey was the rightful and usual place for a royal interment, but the monks of Malmesbury, Kingswood and Bristol refused to permit burial within the walls of their abbeys, for fear of incurring the displeasure of the Queen. The Abbot of Gloucester Abbey (John Thokey) was more brave. He went to the Castle of Berkeley with a car adorned with the arms of his



GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL FROM THE EAST



Temb of Edward II in Glovcester Culhedral Ed Byrnow 1844

abbey, and brought the body of the King to Gloucester. At the south gate of the city, close to where the Infirmary now stands, the funeral procession was met by the monks, and through streets crowded with solemn-faced citizens the corpse of the murdered monarch was carried to the Abbey church (now the Cathedral), and interred on the north side of the high altar. Seven years later his son erected the monument which now stands over his tomb. For many years afterwards the tomb was visited by pilgrims from all parts of the country: for their accommodation the Abbot built the "New Inn" in Northgate Street; and the money gifts they placed on the King's tomb were, it is said, sufficient to have rebuilt the Abbey.

#### CHAPTER XXVI.

## WAR AND PESTILENCE.

AFTER the murder of Edward II. Mortimer was the head of the State, the new King being only fourteen when he was crowned. But his tyrannical treatment of the people deepened the hatred of him which the murder at Berkeley had aroused, and after three years of his rule Parliament condemned him to death, and he was hanged. The Queen's friendship to him also made her exceedingly unpopular, and she was imprisoned for life in her castle at Castle Risings, near King's Lynn.

Edward III. was only seventeen when he asserted his right to be King in deed as well as in name. The country quickly benefited by his wise rule. Bands of robbers and murderers were scattered or imprisoned, abuses of authority were stopped, and more liberty and justice were given to the people. Peace, however, soon gave place to war. The French throne had become vacant by the death of Charles IV., whose nearest male relative was a cousin. Edward's mother. Oueen

Isabella, was a sister of Charles, and upon that fact Edward claimed the French crown. The French resisted the claim and placed the late King's cousin, Philip, on the throne. Edward made preparations for war, but after he had visited France a treaty of peace was made between the two Kings. Five years later the treaty was broken. Robert Bruce, King of Scotland, had died, and the old state of war between England and Scotland began again. Philip gave help to the Scots, and by so doing made Edward his enemy. Edward called himself King of France, and by so doing made Philip his enemy. French sailors attacked English shipping; Englishmen plundered French lands. In 1337 war between England and France began, a war known in history as the Hundred Years' War.

In 1360, after fighting had been going on for twenty-three years, a second treaty of peace was made between England and France. Nine years later this treaty was broken, and war went on until 1375, when a third treaty of peace was made. In 1377 Edward III. died. Richard II., who succeeded him, was then only a boy of ten, and, taking advantage of his youth, the French broke the third treaty, invaded England, plundered the south-east coast, and ravaged the Isle of Wight. In 1306 Richard married a daughter of the French King, and a fourth treaty of peace was made. Three years afterwards he was deposed, and Henry IV. was placed on the throne. The war was carried on at intervals during the whole of his fourteen years'reign, and was continued with great vigour by his son, Henry V. (who was born at Monmouth), whose victories included the famous battle of Agincourt. In 1420 he entered into a treaty known as the treaty of Troyes, by which he gave up his title of King of France, although he was recognised as heir to Charles VI., to the exclusion of the Dauphin. He, however, refused to make peace unless he was acknowledged sovereign of Normandy, and the war went on during the greater part of the reign of Henry In 1453 a final treaty of peace was made, and the Hundred Years' War came to an end.

Gloucestershire provided men, ships and money throughout the war. In the summer of 1345 six knights from each county were told off to cross the channel with Edward III., and among those from Gloucestershire were members of the Berkelev family, and Ralph. Lord Stafford, a landowner at Chipping Campden. At the famous battle of Crecy, fought in August, 1345, Lord Stafford led the van; at the siege of Calais, in the following year, a lord of Berkeley was among the killed; and at the battle of Poitiers, a little later. another member of the Berkeley family was with his men for two hours in the fore part of the battle, but following too closely in pursuit of the retreating enemy was captured, and kept a prisoner for four years. Ralph, Baron of Sudeley, was one of the knights who fought in France with Henry V., and in his later years probably saw Ioan of Arc burned to death in Rouen. Each knight who went to war had to take with him soldiers on horseback and on foot. Ralph, Baron Sudeley, we read, took with him "twenty men-at-arms and sixty archers on horseback"; in 1352 Sir Thomas Berkeley, of Coberley, was ordered to collect two-hundred archers in Gloucestershire to go to France; and archers from the Forest of Dean were constantly asked for, probably because of the skill they acquired in hunting. Bristol contributed twenty-three ships and six hundred men to the English fleet. Money for war was raised by heavy taxes on marketable produce (which in Gloucestershire was chiefly wool), on movable goods, on each parish, and, for a time, on each person.

The incessant call for money to carry on the war caused great poverty throughout the land. But although the people lost in pocket, they gained in freedom. The system under which a farmer was compelled to work for the owner of his land gradually gave way to a system under which he paid rent only.\* Besides getting money in this way the landowners also added to their income by selling freedom to the serfs.

<sup>\*</sup> This rent was called "feorm," from which we get our words "farm" and "farmer."

Edward III. set the example by sending Commissioners to his estates for the purpose, and a number of labourers on the royal manors in Gloucestershire purchased their freedom by money payment to the King. By the great changes thus made the farming system became very much like it is to-day, the farmer paying rent to his landlord for his land and wages for the labour he employed, and farmer and labourer being at liberty to earn a living where and how they chose.

The system had only just been established when it was upset by a terrible plague known as the Black Death. Starting from Asia, it swept across Europe, and in August, 1348, it reached England. The first of the large towns to be attacked was Bristol. There so many died that the living were scarce able to bury them, and grass grew inches high in the streets. Brisol infected Gloucester; from Gloucester the plague was carried up the Severn Valley to Worcester, and across the Cotswolds to Oxford, and in November it broke out in London. Then it slowly spread over the whole country, leaving scarcely a town or village untouched. The population of England was about four millions, and about one-half were killed by the plague. The greatest sufferers were the poor, who lived in insanitary houses, ate bad food, and were dirty in habits. The rich, who lived in cleaner homes and had better food, generally escaped the disease.

Very little is known about the ravages of the Black Death in the county of Gloucester. But as Bristol was one of the earliest towns attacked, and from there the disease spread to the north and east, Gloucestershire probably suffered as much as did any other part of the country. With so many of the poor swept away by death, labourers became very scarce, crops rotted on the ground from want of men to gather them in, and large tracts of land were left untilled. Finding their services in such great request, labourers refused to work for less than double their former wages. They got them for a short time, and then Parliament passed what is called the Statute of Labourers, which commanded every man or woman under sixty years of age.

not holding land, or not already at work, to serve any employer in the parish where they lived, who required them to do so, and to take only the wages which were paid before the plague began. Although refusal to obey the law was punished by imprisonment, it was often disobeyed, and in 1360 another Act was passed, which ordered a runaway labourer to be not only imprisoned but also branded with the letter "F" on the forehead.

This cruel law intensified rather than diminished the strife between employers and employed, and in 1378, a year after Richard II. succeeded his grandfather (Edward III.) on the throne, the matter came before a Parliament held in Gloucester. The peasantry had hailed the accession of the new King with joy, and they hoped that under his rule their liberty would be restored. Parliament, however, was exclusively composed of men who owned land, and were therefore not likely to yield to the demands of the men they employed. A proposal that landlords should have power to seize runaway labourers wherever they were found was not adopted, but the existing Statute of Labourers was confirmed, and orders were given that it should be rigorously enforced. The news of what Parliament had done at Gloucester quickly spread throughout the country, and caused a storm of anger from the peasants. The storm was increased by the preaching of John Ball, described as "a mad priest of Kent." Up and down the land he preached the rights of man, and put his doctrine into the rhyming question: "When Adam delved and Eve span, who was then the gentleman?" The peasants everywhere listened eagerly to his words, and everyone saw that any new grievance would cause the storm to burst. New grievances soon came. Six months after it had met at Gloucester, Parliament met in London, and ordered a poll-tax to be paid by every man according to his means—from £6 13s. 4d. by a duke down to 4d. by every person above the age of sixteen. Less than a year afterwards (November, 1380) the poll-tax was increased to no less than a shilling from every person above the age of fifteen. A shilling then was equal in value to twelve shillings now, and with wages low and food dear the tax was more than the poor could possibly pay. From one end of England to another the people rose in rebellion. Their rising is commonly termed the Peasants' Revolt. But it was by no means confined to the peasants: it was joined in by all men who had, or thought they had, a grievance to be removed. The villeins, in particular, made common cause with the labourers. Their servitude to their landlords-base servitude, as it was called-had been abolished, but owing to the scarcity of labourers after the Black Death they were again called upon to help cultivate their landlord's land, and to provide him with labourers as well. They wanted a charter of freedom. and in the revolt they thought they saw a chance to obtain it.

What form the revolt took in the county of Gloucester is not recorded. The register of the Abbey of Cirencester shows that ten years earlier the Abbot had obtained under the King's seal a document clearly setting forth the services due to him from his tenants. under the customs of the manor, but there is no evidence that he or any other landowner in the county was the cause of violence by the populace. The poll-tax must however, have been an intolerable burden to the farmlabourers on the Cotswolds and in the Severn Vale, and to the miners in the Forest of Dean, and a source of great discontent among the town mechanics as well. In the eastern counties the revolt took a violent form. From Kent and Essex thousands of armed peasants. headed by Wat Tyler and Jack Straw, marched to London, where they burnt or otherwise destroyed large public buildings, and put to death the Archbishop of Canterbury and hundreds of officials whom they regarded as their tyrants. The King met them, and promised that their grievances should be removed; and when the Mayor of London, in an excess of zeal, slew Wat Tyler with his dagger, Richard rode forward and cried: "I am your King; I will be your leader." The violence in London at once ended. In Kent and

Essex the revolt lasted for some weeks longer, for the landowners refused to give up any of their power, and Parliament took their side. In January, 1382, however, the King married, and at the request of his Queen he pardoned the insurgents, and the revolt came to an end.

"The results of the rising," says Professor Stubbs, "were of marked importance. Although the villeins had failed to obtain their charters, and had paid a heavy penalty for their temerity in revolting, they had struck a blow at villenage. The landlords gave up the practice of demanding base services: they let their lands to leasehold tenants, and accepted money payments in lieu of labour; they ceased to recall the emancipated labourer into serfdom, or to oppose his assertion of right in the courts of the manor and the county. Rising out of villenage, the new freemen enlarged the class of yeomanry, and strengthened the cause of the Commons in the country and in Parliament; and from 1381 onwards rural society in England began to work into its later forms."

A long time passed, however, before villenage came to an end in the county of Gloucester. In 1400 the tenants of the Abbots of Circncester refused any longer to go into his meadows and fields to gather in his hay and corn. The Abbot was afraid to force them to do so, and an appeal to the King (Henry IV.) brought him no help. When Henry V. came to the throne, in 1413, however, he made another appeal, and obtained a copy of an old charter which proved that he still had a right to his tenants' services on his land. They at once confessed their wrong, and resumed their old obedience, and hoped that the Abbot would be satisfied. But the Abbot was not satisfied; on the contrary, he prosecuted thirty-one of them for withdrawing their services from him for thirteen years, and seventy-four other dwellers in Cirencester for aiding and abetting them. The cause was tried at Gloucester, and, with the exception of one man, who proved that he was innocent, all pleaded guilty, and were ordered to pay the Abbot the enormous sum of £6,000, and to go to prison until it was paid.

The Abbot then tempered justice with mercy: seven of the offenders were allowed to go free, and the others were ordered to pay £20 to the King. During the next century and a quarter the tenants, one after another, were released from their villenage, and when the property of the Abbey was valued in 1540, after the dissolution of the monasteries, all labour services had been extinguished by the payment of rent in money.

The earliest record of villenage is in Domesday Book, for which William the Conqueror gave the order in a Court at Gloucester; its gradual extinction was checked by the Statute of Labourers, which was reenacted in its final form by a Parliament held in the same city; and probably Gloucestershire was one of the latest counties in which a system of labour bondage that had lasted five hundred years came to an end.

#### CHAPTER XXVII.

## PARLIAMENT AND TAXATION.

PARLIAMENT consists of two Houses, the House of Commons and the House of Lords; and no new law can be made, and no old law can be changed, except with the assent of both Houses. Bills which have passed the House of Commons are often altered by the House of Lords, and occasionally a Bill does not become law because the two Houses disagree upon it. The House of Lords, however, has no control over the taxation of the country. In April of each year the Chancellor of the Exchequer puts before the House of Commons what is called a Budget. A Budget contains three statements: (1) an account of the income and expenditure of the kingdom for the year which ended on the 31st March; (2) an estimate of the income and expenditure for the year just begun; (3) the taxes it is proposed to levy. The House of Commons considers the matter. and then passes a Bill which states the taxes that the people are to pay in the coming year. This Bill is sent to the House of Lords, just as all other Bills are sent to it. But the House of Lords cannot alter it. There is an old proverb that, "He who pays the piper has a right to call the tune." It is upon this principle that the House of Commons alone controls the taxation of the country. The House of Commons is often called "The People's House," because it is the House which is elected by the people; and as the taxes have to be paid by the people, their House decides what the taxes shall be.

This power of the House of Commons over the taxation of the country was gained after a series of struggles, and two of the most important of them took place in the city of Gloucester.

The first struggle was in the Parliament held in Gloucester in 1378, which, as already stated, confirmed the laws fixing the wages to be paid to labourers. The wars with France were lingering on, and although vast sums of money had been spent upon them, money was still wanted. The King (Richard II.) asked the House of Commons for more money. Hitherto the King had only to ask for money and taxes were at once raised to provide it. No account was given as to how the money was spent, and no questions were asked by the House of Commons concerning its expenditure. This time, however, the House of Commons was not so obedient, Only twelve months before it had given the King a very large sum, and it plainly told him that it would not give him any more until it had an account of how that money had been spent. John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, tried to persuade the King and the House of Lords to refuse the Commons' request, but the Commons stood firm, and after a good deal of discussion by both Houses the King gave way, and the account which the Commons asked for was granted. An 'additional tax was at once imposed, the People's House being satisfied with the power it had gained to know what was done with the money which the people paid.

The second struggle gave the people a still greater By degrees a custom had grown up by which the House of Commons fixed the amount to be raised by taxation. It was, however, only a custom, not a law made by Parliament, nor even a rule made by the Sovereign. At a Parliament held in Gloucester in 1407. Henry IV., who seven years earlier had succeeded the deposed Richard II., asked the House of Lords how much money was required for the public defence. On receiving their answer he summoned a number of members of the House of Commons to attend the House of Lords to hear the amount of money that he wanted, and to report it to their House. Twelve members attended, and then returned to their House and reported the King's message. The Commons at once protested that this was an invasion of its rights and liberties. The House of Lords, it said, had no power over the public expenditure, that power belonging only to the House of Commons. As soon as he heard of what the House of Commons had done, the King yielded. But he did more than yield; he decided that neither the House of Lords nor the House of Commons should make any report to the King respecting money grants to him until the two Houses had agreed, and that then the report should be made through the Speaker (that is, the Chairman) of the Commons.

This was not a full recognition of the custom of the House of Commons to fix the amount of taxation, for it gave both Houses of Parliament equal power. Throughout the reigns of the Lancastrian Kings and of the House of Tudor the People's House again and again struggled to get complete control of the national purse. It was not, however, until the reign of Charles II. that the final victory was won. In the year 1678 the House of Commons passed the following resolution:—

"All aids and supplies to His Majesty in Parliament are the sole gift of the Commons, and all Bills' for the granting of any such aids and supplies ought to begin with the Commons; and it is the undoubted

and sole right of the Commons to direct, limit, and appoint in such Bills, the ends, purposes, considerations, limitations, and qualifications of such grants, which ought not to be changed or altered by the House of Lords."

Thus the House of Commons gained full control of the public purse exactly three hundred years after the first great struggle for it in the city of Gloucester. As late as the year 1861 a question arose as to the privileges of the two Houses, and the decision which settled the question quoted the action of the Parliament held at Gloucester in 1407 as the chief authority for the privi-

leges of the House of Commons.

The visit of King and Parliament to Gloucester in 1378 is vividly described in the history of St. Peter's Abbey, Gloucester, which was written by its monks, and is still preserved. The Abbey, we are told, was so overrun with strangers that it seemed more like a market-place than a religious house. The King and all his followers were lodged in the monastic buildings; the monks sheltered where they could and had to dine in the school-house or in the dormitory, and to have their meals cooked in the orchard. The grass-plot in the middle of the cloisters was so trodden down by wrestlers and players at ball that not a blade of green was left in it. The Lords sat in the guest-chamber of the Abbey, and the Commons sat in the Chapter House. Parliament opened on October 22nd, and sat until "On the Sunday before the close of November 16th. "a grand Mass was the session;" says the history, performed by the Abbot in the presence of the King, the two Archbishops, twelve Bishops, the Duke of Lancaster, the Earls of Cambridge and Hereford, many others of the nobility, and an innumerable crowd of the common people of both sexes and every age. Mass the King was conducted to a magnificent repast. which was set out with great splendour. On the 16th November, everything having been happily arranged according to custom, and without any unusual dissension, God overruling all for the good of the Kingdom,

everyone went his own way rejoicing. There was no oppressive tax laid on the poor, nor on the tithes due to the clergy, but only on the merchants, who were rich enough to bear the burden of the King's wars."

The joy soon came to an end. A year later came the first poll-tax, and two years afterwards the second

poll-tax caused the Peasants' Revolt.

### CHAPTER XXVIII.

#### SHAKESPEARE AND CIRENCESTER.

In his play King Richard II. Shakespeare has some passages about the Cotswold Hills and Berkeley Castle. Henry Bolingbroke, Duke of Hereford (afterwards King Henry IV.), and the Earl of Northumberland, with their forces, are marching over the Cotswold Hills towards Berkeley. Speaking to the Earl, the Duke asks: "How far is it, my lord, to Berkeley now?" The Earl replies:

Believe me, noble lord,
I am a stranger here in Glo'stershire.
These high, wild hills, and rough, uneven ways,
Draw out our miles, and make them wearisome:
And yet your fair discourse hath been as sugar,
Making the hard way sweet and delectable.

As they march along they are met by Harry Percy, the Earl's son, who, after being introduced to the Duke, thus addresses him:

My gracious lord, I tender you my service, Such as it is, being tender, raw, and young; Which elder days shall ripen, and confirm To more approved service and desert.

## The Duke, pleased with the lad, answers:

I thank thee, gentle Percy; and be sure
I count myself in nothing else so happy
As in a soul remembering my good friends;
And, as my fortune ripens with thy love,
It shall be still thy true love's recompense:
My heart this covenant makes, my hand thus seals it.

From the level table-land on the top of Stinchcombe Hill they get a view of Berkeley, and presently the Earl asks his son:

How far is it to Berkeley? And what stir Keeps good old York there, with his men of war?

To this question, Harry Percy replies:

There stands the Castle, by yon tuft of trees, Mann'd with three hundred men, as I have heard; And in it are the lords of York, Berkeley, and Seymour; None else of name and noble estimate.\*

As they near the Castle, they are met by the Duke of York, and accept his offer to repose there for the night.

In another passage of the same play, Bolingbroke and the Duke of York are in a room in Windsor Castle, and, addressing the Duke, Bolingbroke says:

Kind uncle York, the latest news we hear Is that the rebels have consumed with fire Our town of Cicester in Glo'stershire; But whether they be ta'en or slain we hear not.

Then Northumberland enters, and is welcomed by Bolingbroke, and is asked: "What is the news?" He replies:

First, to thy sacred state wish I all happiness. The next news is,—I have to London sent The heads of Salisbury, Spenser, Blunt, and Kent.†

For the historical events upon which these passages from Shakespeare are based we must turn to the later years of the life of Richard II. Ascending the throne when he was only ten years of age, Richard was for twelve years assisted in the government of the country by a Council with John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, at its head. At the age of twenty-two Richard dismissed his Council, and for nine years ruled with wisdom and good fortune. Then he abandoned himself to the influence of worthless favourites, dissolved his Parliament and refused to summon another, and thus got rid of parliamentary control, and his rule rapidly became

<sup>\*</sup>King Richard II., Act II., Scene 3. †King Richard II., Act V., Scene 6.

the rule of a despot. Henry Bolingbroke, son of John of Gaunt, was banished, and when John died the King seized all his lands. Taking advantage of the King's absence in Ireland, Bolingbroke, in the summer of 1300, returned to England, declaring that his object in doing so was to recover his father's estate and title. The King's uncle, the Duke of York, whom the King had left regent, summoned an army at St. Alban's to oppose Bolingbroke, but his soldiers refused to fight. Duke at once started for Wales in the hope of getting help there, and on his way stayed at Berkeley Castle. While there he sent a message to Bolingbroke, (who, with a large army, had reached Evesham,) to demand his object. Bolingbroke replied that his object was to recover his rights, but that object could not be effected unless the King's evil counsellors were removed. He denied, however, that he had any designs against the King himself. Thereupon the Duke of York, the chosen guardian of Richard's kingdom in his absence, went over to Bolingbroke's side. When Richard returned from Ireland he found himself deserted by his army and the kingdom in the hands of Henry Bolingbroke. In September the King was a prisoner in the Tower of London, and on the 20th of that month he was taken to Westminster Hall, and there signed a paper in which he resigned the Crown. Parliament met next day, and elected Bolingbroke as King, with the title of Henry IV.

Before Christmas a formidable conspiracy was formed against the new King in Richard's favour. The conspirators included the Duke of Kent, the Earl of Salisbury, Lord Spenser, and Sir Thomas Blount (or Blunt). On Sunday, the 4th of January, they made an attempt to surprise the King at Windsor, but one of their number had already betrayed the secret, and Henry had escaped to London. From Windsor they marched towards London, large numbers of men joining them on the way, but they had not gone far when news was brought to them that Henry was approaching with forces too large for them to fight. Turning westward, they had only reached Maidenhead when Henry's

advanced troops caught them. In all speed they retired through Oxfordshire, and across the Cotswolds to Cirencester, and in the evening of 7th January, 1400, the whole force encamped in some fields outside the town.

Loyal to the new King, the townspeople of Cirencester at once attacked their visitors. Headed by the Bailiff, John Gosyn, they surrounded the house in which the rebel leaders were sleeping, barred the doors with timber to prevent their escape, and then began to assail the inmates with showers of arrows, lances, and stones. While darkness lasted the rebels were able to defend themselves, but at nine o'clock in the morning the mob broke into the house and the whole party forthwith surrendered, under a promise that their lives would be spared until they had an audience with the King. The news of the capture quickly spread into the neighbouring villages, and in the afternoon Circucester was crowded with men and women, ready for any violence to which they might be provoked. Shortly before sunset the provocation came. Some houses were found to be on Whether the fire was the work of one of the rebels. or whether it was caused by an accident, is uncertain. The townspeople believed the houses were purposely set on fire, so that while the flames were being extinguished the prisoners could escape. A wild rush was at once made for the Abbey, where the leading rebels were lodged. Sir Thomas Berkeley, who had there taken custody of the rebels, and was making arrangements to take them to a place of greater safety, did all in his power to protect them. But he was overborne by the violence of the mob, and the Earls of Kent and Salisbury were brought out and beheaded in the market-place. Lord Spenser escaped, but was captured, and taken to Bristol, where he had a like fate. Sir Thomas Blount and thirty of the leaders of the conspiracy, who had surrendered to the Bailiff at Cirencester, were bound and sent to Oxford, where Blount and twenty-one others were put to death on the executioner's block.

The heads of the conspirators were sent to London, partly in sacks, partly slung on poles between men's

shoulders, as a ghastly evidence of the King's success. On Thursday, January 15th, Henry re-entered his capital, and was met by the Archbishop and a long procession of Bishops and Abbots, who conducted him to St. Paul's, where a service was held in honour of his victory. The next day Henry made a triumphal progress through the city, and was everywhere hailed with joyful shouts of "God preserve our Lord King Henry and my Lord the Prince!"

The action of the townspeople of Cirencester ended the conspiracy. As a reward for their services the King gave the Bailiff an annuity for life of a hundred marks, and granted the men four head of deer and a hogshead of wine, and the women—who had taken an active part in helping the men—six head of deer and a hogshead of wine, to be continued yearly during the King's pleasure.

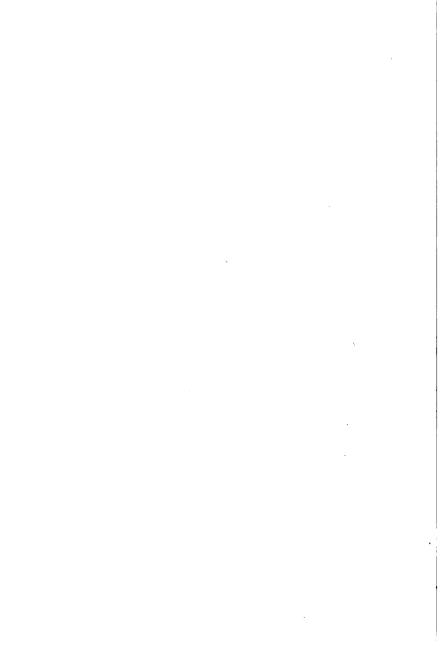
# CHAPTER XXIX.

## A FIGHT FOR BERKELEY CASTLE.

BERKELEY CASTLE is one of very few ancient castles in England still used as a private residence, and is probably the only one which now belongs to the descendants of its first occupant. Its owners, the Berkeley family, have been landowners in Gloucestershire ever since the Norman Conquest, and have always sat in the great council of the nation. In the reign of Henry V. family disputes began for the possession of the Castle, and lasted for two hundred years. sums of money were spent in courts of law without either party being satisfied, and for nearly fifty years there were constant fights between the contending claimants. The story of the contest during those fifty years helps us to understand the general condition of the country during the reigns of Henry V. and his immediate successors, Henry VI. and Edward IV.



BERKELEY CASTLE.



In Norman and early Plantagenet times every man capable of fighting was bound to follow his lord and fight with him in defence of the King and Kingdom. In the wars of Edward III., when the feudal system was dying out, the army was made up of paid soldiers of every rank, instead of lords and the men who were bound to them by feudal ties. The result of this change was that every lord surrounded himself with men who were lodged and fed at his expense and wore his livery, and in return undertook to fight for him at all times and in all causes. The richer the lord the larger the number of men he could thus command, and by degrees the great landowners became so powerful that they were

able to set King and laws at defiance.

In 1417, Thomas, the tenth lord of Berkeley, died. His nephew James claimed to be his heir, but his claim was disputed by the Earl of Warwick, who had married the deceased Earl's daughter. A court of law decided in favour of the nephew, but the Earl of Warwick, having greater wealth and power, took possession of the Castle and estates, and held them for three years, when the King (Henry V.) commanded him to give them up. After the King's death the Earl several times besieged the Castle, and the town of Berkelev was half destroyed in the frequent fights and disturbances which took place. In 1426 the matters in dispute were settled by arbitration, the estates being divided between the two claimants. This arrangement lasted until the Earl of Warwick's death, in 1439, when the quarrel was revived by his three daughters and their husbands, one of whom was Lord Talbot, described by Shakespeare as

> That great Alcides of the field, Valiant Lord Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury.

For several years legal proceedings went on, varied by frequent fights and bloodshed, and in 1448 five arbitrators, sitting at Cirencester, once more divided the estates. Lord Berkeley refused to be bound by the award, and the fighting continued. Wotton Manorhouse, where Lady Shrewsbury was then residing, was attacked and pillaged by Lord Berkeley, whereupon her son broke into Berkeley Castle and seized Lord Berkeley and his four sons, whom he kept prisoners for eleven weeks. In 1453 the Earl of Shrewsbury and his son were killed in a French siege, and one of Lord Berkeley's sons was also slain, and another taken prisoner, and the family quarrels ceased.

In 1460 they broke out again. Lady Shrewsbury's grandson, Lord Lisle, bribed the keeper and the porter of Berkeley Castle to deliver the Castle to him when he attacked it. At the last moment, however, the porter refused to act as traitor, and disclosed the plot to Lord Berkeley. Lord Lisle was furious at the failure of his scheme, and sent a challenge to Lord Berkeley to meet him in open fight. "I require thee," he wrote, "of knighthood and of manhood to appoynt a day to mete me half way, there to try, between God and our two hands, all our quarrell and title of right, for to eschew the shedding of Christian menns bloud, or els at the same day bringe the uttermost of thy power, and I shall mete thee." Lord Berkeley accepted the challenge. "I will thou understand," he wrote, "I will not bring the tenth part that I can make, and I will appoint a short day to ease thy malicious hart and thy false counsell that is with thee; faile not to-morrow to be at Niblyes Green at eight or nyne of the clock, and I will not faile, with God's might and grace, to mete thee at the same place."

A thousand men were quickly gathered from the Berkeley district, from Thornbury, and from the Forest of Dean, and marched to Nibley under Lord Berkeley's banner. At night they encamped in the outskirts of Michaelwood, adjoining Nibley Green, and before dawn they concealed themselves as much as possible in the wood. At sunrise Lord Lisle and his men were seen descending the hill from Nibley Church to the open green. When they were near Michaelwood the Berkeley men suddenly emerged, and with a flight of arrows from their bows the battle began. It did not last long. Lord Berkeley's party were the stronger, and

by their strategy had slain a number of their foes with small loss to themselves. Lord Lisle was struck with an arrow on the left side of his face, and a dagger ended his life. With the fall of their leader his party turned and fled, and many fell as they were pursued up the steep lane leading from the green to Nibley Church. Flushed with victory, Lord Berkeley's men gladly followed him to Wotton Manor-house, the residence of

Lord Lisle, which they sacked and pillaged.

It seems strange nowadays that such a serious breach of the peace could have occurred, and still more strange that no notice was taken of it by the King or Government. But the whole Kingdom was at this time in a very disturbed condition. The great barons were jealous of each other's power, cared little for the interests of the nation, and constantly engaged in armed conflict. The discontent of the people had a few years previously led to seditions and riots, the most important of which was the rebellion led by Jack Cade. Eight years before the battle of Nibley Henry VI. had been deposed and Edward IV. crowned in his place. Seven years after it Lord Berkeley received the King's commission to search out and take prisoners any persons in the county of Gloucester who were opposed to his rule. A few months afterwards Edward himself was a fugitive, and Henry was replaced on the throne. On Easter Day, 1471, Edward resumed the crown, and in May he made it secure by a great victory on the battle-field of Tewkesbury.

## CHAPTER XXX.

## THE BATTLE OF TEWKESBURY.

As the main road from Gloucester enters the town of Tewkesbury it crosses the scene of a famous battle. When, in 1399, Henry IV. usurped the English throne on the deposition of Richard II., the rightful heir was

excluded. With his accession there began a strife between the rival branches of the House of Plantagenet —the Yorkists and Lancastrians—which did not come to an end until the two Houses were reconciled in the reign of Henry VII. The strife developed into war during the later years of the life of Henry VI., the third and last of the Lancastrian Kings. Twice during his reign Henry became insame, and Richard, Duke of York. was made Protector, and each time the King recovered his reason he removed Richard from office. Exasperated by this treatment, Richard rose in arms, and after winning three battles-St. Albans in 1455, Bloreheath in 1459, and Northampton in 1460—he openly claimed the throne. A compromise was made whereby it was arranged that Henry should have the crown during his life, and that, at his death, the Yorkist should obtain the succession. To this compromise Henry's Queen (Margaret) would not agree. She claimed that the rightful heir to the throne was her only son. Edward. Prince of Wales, and to the enforcement of that claim she henceforth devoted her life. Soon after the battle of Northampton he gained a victory over the Yorkists at Wakefield, and Richard was slain; and in 1461 she defeated them at the second battle of St. Albans. The death of Richard was avenged by his son Edward, who routed her army at Mortimer's Cross; he gained another decisive victory at Towton, and three months later he was joyously welcomed to London and crowned with the title Edward IV.

In his fight for the throne, Edward had the support of the Earl of Warwick, known in history as the "King Maker," because of his great power and wealth. After Edward had reigned for nine years, Warwick turned against him, drove him from the Kingdom, placed Henry VI. once more on the throne, and joined the Lancastrian party. Margaret, with her son, had for some years been living in France, near the home of her father, and, encouraged by this unexpected help to her cause, she determined to return to England and once more try to win the crown for her son. An invading expedition

was collected at Harfleur, a small port near the mouth of the Seine, and on the 14th April, 1471, Margaret and

her party landed at Weymouth.

Meantime the Yorkist cause was regaining its old strength. On the 14th March, Edward landed at Ravenspur, in the Humber, the very place where seventy-two years earlier Henry Bolingbroke landed to dethrone Richard II. On the 11th April he entered London in triumph, and was re-crowned. Three days later (Easter Sunday) he won a great victory at Barnet, nine miles north of London, and Warwick and his brother, and other Lancastrian leaders, were left dead on the field.

The news of the battle reached Margaret next day. "When she heard it," says a chronicler of the period, "she fell to the ground, her heart was pierced with sorrow, her speech left her, and her spirits were tormented with melancholy." But the Duke of Somerset and the Earl of Devon, who had escaped from Barnet, entreated her to persevere, assuring her that the West of England was ready to rise in her support, and that levies had been called out, with Exeter as the place of muster. Acting on their advice, she marched to Exeter, and thence, through Taunton, Glastonbury and Wells, to Bristol, fresh levies joining and increasing her forces as she advanced.

Margaret's first object was to join her army with one which had been raised in South Wales by the Earl of Pembroke. To do so it was necessary for her to cross the Severn, and the nearest bridge over the river was at Gloucester. Reports were spread by her officers that Margaret was marching on London, but the King's scouts found the reports were false, and on Wednesday, the 24th April, the King left Windsor, and on the following Saturday reached Abingdon, where he spent Sunday. On Monday he marched to Cirencester, and next day learned that Margaret was at that time at Bath, and that a battle might be expected on the morrow. Before nightfall his army had encamped three miles out of the town—probably at Trewsbury—and with his own

soldiers were the whole of the men of Cirencester, whom he had compelled to go with him, to make sure that he had not left a hostile town in his rear. On Wednesday (1st May), hearing nothing of the foe, Edward advanced to Malmesbury, and there heard that Margaret, instead of marching northward from Bath, had gone westward to Bristol. Turning in that direction from Malmesbury, Edward, on Thursday, marched through Easton Grey, Great Sherston, and Badminton, and occupied the Roman camp at Sodbury. During the same day Margaret had advanced up the Severn Valley, and at night she rested at Berkeley Castle, while her army continued to march to Gloucester.

Before daylight on Thursday morning the scouts brought news to Edward of his foe's movements. at once despatched a message to Gloucester, bidding the Governor (Sir Richard Beauchamp) to hold the city at all hazards and prevent the Queen from crossing The message arrived, we are told, "in the Severn. right good season." At ten o'clock in the morning the Lancastrian host reached Gloucester, only to find its gates closed against them. Wearied though they were with their all-night march, they were afraid to linger. and had to struggle on another ten miles to Tewkesbury, which they reached about four o'clock in the afternoon, after having walked the forty-four miles from Bristol at a stretch. They pitched their camp in a field near the present cemetery, says a chronicler of the battle, with "afore them and upon every hand of them fowle lanes and depe dikes, and many hedges, with hills and valleys, a right evill place to approche as could well have been devvsed."

While the Lancastrians were marching up the Severn Valley, Edward was holding a parallel course along the western edge of the Cotswold Hills, his scouts keeping an eye upon the foe all the time. It was a "right-an-hot day," we are told, and neither man nor beast found food all the way; and "ne so moche as drynke for theyr horses, save in one litle broke [the Froom, in the Stroud Valley], where was full letle relefe,

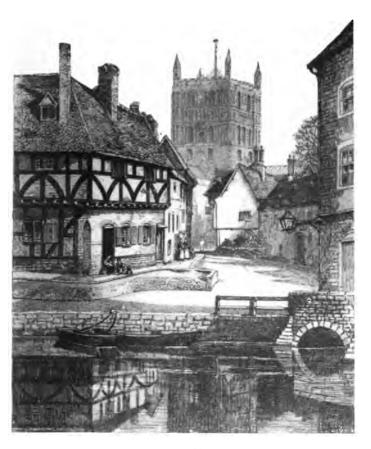
it was so sone trowbled with the cariages that had passed it." Passing Painswick and Birdlip, the Yorkist host descended Leckhampton Hill and reached "a village callyd Chiltenham." Here they refreshed themselves with the scanty provisions they had brought with them. In Cheltenham Edward was told that the enemy had reached Tewkesbury, and were preparing for battle. After a short rest, he took his men by an old road through Swindon and Stoke Orchard to Tredington: there they encamped, Edward himself spending the night at the old Parsonage house in the village—a house now partly swept away—and the remainder turned into cottages. Like the Lancastrians, Edward's soldiers were glad to rest, for since sunrise they had marched from Sodbury, thirty-four miles off, along the "rough, uneven ways" of the western Cotswolds.

At dawn next day (Saturday, 4th May), Margaret prepared to meet her foe in deadly fight. Her forces, we are told, occupied "a marvaylows strong ground, full difficult to be assayled"; and in their front they had "so many hedges, trees and busshes, that it was right hard to approche them nere and come to hands." Probably they stretched in a long line from Lincoln Green to a small enclosure still known as "Margaret's Camp." crossing the present main road to Tewkesbury. which in those days did not exist between the Odessa Inn and the Tewkesbury Workhouse. The Duke of Somerset and his brother, Lord John Beaufort, were stationed on the right, and held the ground between Lincoln Green and Gupshill; the Earl of Devon had charge of the left wing, which extended to the Swilgate brook, and commanded the road from Tredington; and Prince Edward and Lord Wenlock occupied a ridge between the two wings.

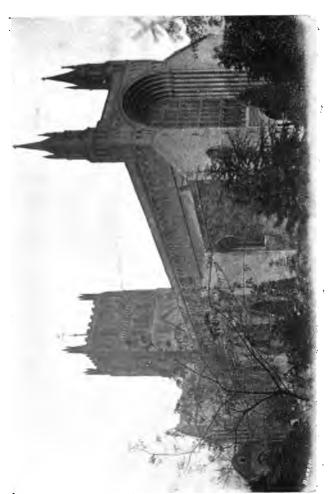
Edward's army marched from Tredington in three divisions. The vanguard was under the command of the Duke of Gloucester, brother of the King, a skilled leader, although a youth; Edward and his younger brother, Duke of Clarence, led the centre; and the

Marquis of Dorset, stepson of the King, and Lord Hastings, who had fought at Towton and Barnet, were in charge of the rear. They set out, the chronicler tells us, with banners flying and trumpets blowing, and advanced directly upon their enemies. On the right of the Lancastrian position—that is, on the west side of Lincoln Green—there was, says the chronicler, "a parke, and therein moche wood." In case of any of his enemies might be hidden there, the King posted two hundred spearmen near, and charged them "to have good eye upon that cornar of the woode, and if none of the enemy were there to employ themselfe in the best wyse as they cowlde." The wood was probably a part of Tewkesbury Park.

The battle began with flights of arrows and what is described as a "right-a-sharpe shower" of cannon shot. The Lancastrian reply was comparatively feeble, but the strength of their position—with hedges and deep dikes in front—enabled them to keep the King completely at bay. Had Margaret's forces remained on the defensive, the battle might have had a different ending. But Somerset, whether unable to stand the Yorkist fire, or wishing to distinguish himself, led his men down some lanes and attacked the Yorkist centre with great fury. Edward turned to meet him, and Gloucester coming to his support, a fierce fight ensued, Meanwhile, the two hundred spearmen, seeing no sign of a Lancastrian ambuscade in the park, attacked Somerset on his right. The onslaught of the King and Gloucester was gradually overcoming his resistance, and the attack of the spearmen turned his reverse into a rout. Edward then pushed into the Lancastrian position by the way left open by Somerset, and in a few minutes the battle was won. A number of the enemy tried to reach the Lower Lode and escape across the Severn, but were caught and slain in a field near the Lower Lode lane, which is still known as the "Bloody Meadow." Some were drowned near a mill; others fled "into lanes and dykes where they best hopyd to escape the dangar, of whom, nevertheless, many were distressed, taken, and slavne."



A BIT OF OLD TEWKESBURY.



TEWKESBURY ABBEY.

Historians differ as to the fate of Prince Edward. Shakespeare has immortalized him as murdered when brought into the King's presence by his captors:

Bring forth the gallant, let us hear him speak. What! can so young a thorn begin to prick? Edward, what satisfaction canst thou make For bearing arms, for stirring up my subjects, And all the trouble thou has turn'd me to?

The haughty inquiry of the King is met by an equally haughty answer from the Prince:

Speak like a subject, proud, ambitious York! Suppose that I am now my father's mouth; Resign thy chair, and where I stand kneel thou, Whilst I propose the selfsame words to thee Which, traitor, thou would'st have me answer to.

I tell ye all,
I am your better, traitors as ye are:—
And thou usurp'st my father's right and mine.\*

Whereupon the Prince was stabbed by the King, the Duke of Gloucester, and the Duke of Clarence, in the

presence of Margaret and other prisoners.

On the other hand, the narrative written by an eye-witness of the battle says Edward "was taken, fleeinge to the townewards, and slayne in the field," and other writers of the time say he was killed on the field of battle. The statement that he was murdered was not made until many years afterwards, by chroniclers of the Tudor period, who wished to blacken the character of Edward IV.

The Duke of Somerset and many others who had escaped from the battle-field sought refuge in the Abbey church, which was filled with fugitives. Entering the town, the King went straight to the church. The clergy met him in procession, and led him to the high altar, there, the chronicler says, "to give unto Almyty God lawde and thanke for vyctorye that of His mercy He had that day grauntyd and gyven unto him." The common soldiers were freely pardoned, but the leaders, to the number of about thirty, were taken prisoners.

<sup>\*</sup>Henry VI., Part III., Scene 5.

On the following Monday they were taken before a court-martial, consisting of the Duke of Gloucester, Constable of England, and the Duke of Norfolk, Marshal of England. The Duke of Somerset and about a dozen others were sentenced to death, and were beheaded at Tewkesbury Cross, and their bodies, by the King's express orders, buried without the usual quartering and exposure to the public gaze. About a dozen other leaders were spared, among them Sir John Fortescue, Chief Justice of England, who was one of Margaret's supporters. The slaughter was not confined to Tewkesbury. At Didbrook several Lancastrians were put to death within the parish church, and so horrible did this sacrilege appear to the Rector, the then Abbot of Hayles Abbey, that he rebuilt the church at his own expense. The Abbey of Tewkesbury and other churches in the district had to be re-dedicated on account of the bloodshedding within their walls.

With the death of her son, Margaret lost all for which she lived. On the day following the battle she fled to what is described as "a powre religious place"—possibly to Deerhurst Priory or a Priory at Little Malvern. On the 21st May she was in the King's procession as it made a triumphal entry into London, and was then sent to the Tower, where her husband was a prisoner. Two or three days later she became a widow as well as childless. For nearly five years she was detained a prisoner in different fortresses in England, and then a ransom of £50,000 was paid by her father, and she returned to her old home in France. In 1482 she died, eleven years after the light of her life went out with the death of her only and beloved son.

A year later Richard, Duke of Gloucester, who led the Yorkist vanguard at Tewkesbury, is believed to have had the boy-King Edward V. and his brother secretly murdered in the Tower of London; three years later Richard himself (Richard III.), after a reign of only two years, was slain in the battle of Bosworth, and the Wars of the Roses came to an end.

#### CHAPTER XXXI.

#### THE NEW WORLD AND THE NEW LEARNING.

ALTHOUGH America was discovered by Christopher Columbus, he was not the discoverer of the American Continent. That honour belongs to two mariners-John Cabot and his son, Sebastian Cabot. The earliest discoveries by Columbus (in 1492) were some islands in the West Indies, and it was not until 1408 that he saw the mainland of America. The two Cabots saw it a year earlier. Both were bold and skilled mariners, and on the 2nd May, 1497, with the authority of Henry VII., they sailed from Bristol in a little ship called the Matthew, on a voyage to the Far West. the 24th June they reached the island of Newfoundland. and, still sailing westward, they coasted along the shores of North America to Florida. On the 6th August they were back in Bristol, where they were received with great rejoicings, and the father was styled "the great Admiral." Early in the next year the two Cabots were authorised by the King to take six English ships, of not more than 200 tons each, in any port in the realm, "and them convey and lead to the lande and isles of late founded by the said John in oure name and by oure commandment." Before the expedition was readv. John Cabot died, and Sebastian, with a fleet of five vessels, sailed from Bristol in May, 1498. On reaching the American coast he sailed as far north as latitude 671°, probably passing into Hudson's Bay, and then as far south as latitude 38°, thus discovering eighteen hundred miles of sea-coast of the North-American Continent.

While the Bristol mariners were discovering America, Vasco de Gama, sailing from Lisbon, rounded the Cape of Good Hope, and found a way to India by sea. This sudden enlargement of the known boundaries of the world aroused the attention of Englishmen, but they were not yet ready to use it to their advantage. They had plenty of room at home, and their foreign

trade was as large as they could do. The total population of England was only about two-and-a-half millions, or a little more than three times the size of Gloucestershire to-day, and London was less than half the present size of Bristol. The export trade was chiefly in wool, of which a good deal was sent through Bristol by the sheep breeders on the Cotswold Hills. So large, indeed, was the trade in wool that in the reign of Henry VII. the export duties on it exceeded one-third of the taxation of the Kingdom. It was not until the end of the sixteenth century that Englishmen began to settle in America, and their earliest settlements were along the sea-board which was discovered by the famous Bristol mariners a hundred years before.

The reward which the Cabots received for their enterprise was exceedingly small. Although their first expedition was fitted out entirely at their own cost, the King bargained for a fifth part of the gains, and when they returned the only money recompense he made to them was the sum of ten pounds. The greed for wealth which Henry showed in his treatment of the Cabots was also shown in other ways. After the battle of Tewkesbury, Edward IV. invented a system of raising money known as benevolences. He invited the wellto-do people to make him free gifts, and they did so, partly because they dare not refuse, and partly to show their gratitude to him for putting an end to the civil war. Richard III. abolished the system of benevolences. Henry VII. revived it, and invented a new mode of putting it into force. If a man lived in good style he was told that, having plenty of money, he could afford to give to the King; if he lived in humble style he was told that he must have saved money, and therefore could afford to give. '

Lord Berkeley was among the barons who were extremely generous in gifts to the King. He gave him Berkeley Castle and the whole of the estates of the Berkeley family, reserving only a life interest to himself. When he died (in 1491) Henry took possession of the whole, and spent ten days at Berkeley, with his Queen;

and the Castle and estates remained in the possession of the Crown until the death of Edward VI., when they again became the property of the Berkeleys, because the King died childless.

The gift of Berkeley Castle meant something more than a gift to Henry VII. It was an indication of a great change which had taken place in the relationship between the King and the nation. "From the Conquest to the Great Charter," says Professor Stubbs, "the Crown, the Clergy and the Commons were banded together against the Baronage: the legal and national interests against the feudal. From the date of Magna Charta to the revolution of 1399 the Barons and the Commons were banded in resistance to the aggressive policy of the Crown, the action of the clergy being greatly perturbed by the attraction and repulsion of the papacy. From the accession of Henry IV. to the accession of Henry VII. the baronage, the people, and the royal house were divided each within itself, and that internal division was working a sort of political suicide which the Tudor reigns arrested, and by arresting it they made possible the restoration of the national balance."

Henry's power over the baronage and the people was enormously increased by a revolution in the art of war. Until his reign the mainstay of an army was the archers. Only a few years before his accession, football, quoits, skittles and other games were forbidden, under a penalty of two years' imprisonment and a heavy fine, in order that all possible time should be given to the practice of archery. With archers ready to muster under his banner and follow his lead, a great baron was a formidable foe, as Lord Berkeley showed in the battle of Nibley Green. A few barons, with their hosts of followers armed with bow and arrow, could threaten a Henry had a weapon of war against which archery was powerless. Artillery had come into use, and he took care that he alone should use it. The only serious attempts to remove him from the throne were made by Perkin Warbeck, who falsely claimed to be

Richard, Duke of York, the younger of the Princes who had been murdered in the Tower. His last attempt was made at the head of six thousand Cornishmen. expedition against him the King was accompanied by Sir Thomas Poyntz, of Iron Acton, a member of a family who have been connected with Gloucestershire from Norman times. The rebels' bows were several inches longer than those of the King's men, but they were no match for the royal train of cannon, and the fight was soon over, and Warbeck a prisoner.

Five times in Henry's reign the electors of the county of Gloucester, the city of Gloucester, and the city of Bristol, elected Members of Parliament. During the last thirteen years of his reign their election was almost a farce, for only once was Parliament summoned. By forced gifts, like that of Lord Berkeley, he was able to live without asking Parliament for money; indeed, so rich did he become by benevolences, fines, extortions and other means that when he died a sum of sixteen millions is said to have been found in his palace vaults. He made two important changes in the administration of justice. Judges at assizes were empowered to try all cases save those of treason and felony without a jury; and a new court was established, known as the Court of Star Chamber, with power to fine and imprison persons who in any way interfered with justice. Both changes may have been useful in the repression of disorder, but they were infringements of the liberties which the people had gained by long and bitter struggle.

The discoveries by the Bristol mariners, the lessened power of the baronage, and the revolution in the art of war, which mark the reign of Henry VII., were brought as closely home to the people of Gloucestershire as to the whole Kingdom. They also got a glimpse of the beginnings of a greater change than any or all of these. At about the same time that Edward IV, was crushing his foes on the battle-field of Tewkesbury, a Grammar School was founded in Circucester, a school which still exists, housed in modern buildings in the Victoria Road. By its establishment, dwellers on the Cotswold Hills

came into close relationship with what is called the New Learning—a revival of the study of Greek and Roman literature. For a short time the progress of the school must have been slow and its influence small. All books had to be copied by hand, and books and copyists were few in number. The invention of printing gave the New Learning a mighty impetus. William Caxton, who learnt the art at Bruges, and introduced it into England, set up a printing press in the Almonry at Westminster five years after the battle of Tewkesbury. He was not for long the only English printer, for an independent press was established at Oxford, and many books from it found their way into Gloucestershire homes while Henry VII. was on the throne. It is said that the King looked with dread and suspicion at the New Learning, and with curiosity and amusement at the new art. In the reign of his son they were the chief causes of one of the most momentous changes that England has seen.

# CHAPTER XXXII.

# Dissolution of the Monasteries.

Under a beautiful tomb in the church at Sudeley, near Winchcombe, is the body of Catherine Parr, last and surviving of the six wives of Henry VIII. Henry's first wife was Catherine of Arragon, the widow of his brother Arthur. After they had been married for several years, the King wished to get rid of his wife. The reason he gave for doing so was that marriage with a brother's widow was illegal; another reason was that he hoped by another marriage to have a son who would succeed him on the throne; and a third reason was that he wished to marry Anne Boleyn. Cardinal Wolsey, his chief minister, urged him to abandon the idea, and the people were against it. Determined to get his way,

if it were possible, Henry appealed to the Pope, who commissioned Wolsey and an Italian Cardinal to find out the facts on which the application for divorce was based. Catherine appeared before them, and made a piteous appeal to the King. "If there be any offence which can be alleged against me," she said, "I am content to depart, to my shame and confusion; if there be none, then I pray you to let me have justice at your hands." The King frankly admitted that he made no charge against her. "She has," he said, "been unto me as true and obedient a wife as I could wish or desire. She has all the virtuous qualities that ought to be in a woman; she is also a noble woman born." The Italian Cardinal took the side of the Queen, and the matter was again referred to the Pope. At Henry's request, the House of Lords sent to the Pope a petition—which was signed by the Abbots of Gloucester and Tewkesbury -praying him to consent to the divorce. The Pope was not to be moved, however, and the King once more The Archbishop of turned to his advisers at home. Canterbury (Cranmer) declared the marriage with Catherine illegal, and English and foreign Universities also decided in the King's favour; and thereupon Anne Boleyn became Henry's Queen.

Two years after their marriage the King and Queen spent five weeks in Gloucestershire. Their first visit was to Winchcombe and Sudeley Castle, and then they went in turn to Tewkesbury, Gloucester, Leonard Stanley, Berkeley Castle, Thornbury Castle, and Little Sodbury. The King had intended to go to Bristol, but as the plague was then raging there he altered his route, and passed from Sodbury into Wiltshire. An account of the visit to Gloucester is still preserved in the city records. At the boundary of the city, on the Tewkesbury Road, the royal party were met by the Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs, in scarlet gowns, and a hundred other burgesses, all on horseback. Outside the north gate the procession was joined by the Clergy of the city, in full vestments, and the whole party went to the Abbey, where the King and Queen were received by the Abbot and Monks.

This was on Saturday, July 31st, 1535. On Monday they hunted deer in Prinknash Park, and on Tuesday the King hunted at Miserden. The following three days were spent in and around the city, and on Saturday the King and Queen left for Leonard Stanley Priory, being escorted as far as Quedgeley by the Mayor, Aldermen and Sheriffs, and a number of townspeople. At Gloucester the King was presented with ten fat oxen, of the value of £20, and the Queen with a purse of gold. As the royal party did not go to Bristol, some of the citizens met them at Thornbury, and on behalf of the city gave the King ten fat oxen and forty sheep, and the Queen a handsome silver-gilt cup, containing a hundred gold marks.

Henry's quarrel with the Pope was the beginning of a great religious revolution. For hundreds of years the Pope had been the head of the Church in England, in the same way that the King was the Head of the State. It was because the Pope was Head of the Church that he was asked by the King to declare that his marriage with his brother's wife was illegal. The Pope's continued refusal to do so led Henry to claim that he alone was the Head of the English Church. The Clergy struggled hard against the claim, but the King compelled them to submit. Henry next attacked the Pope's income from England. The Pope received the first year's salary of each bishop and clergyman, and a tenth of each year's salary of bishops and clergy. Henry persuaded Parliament to order that these payments should be made to him instead of to the Pope. Finally, an Act was passed that the King, his heirs and successors, shall be the only Supreme Head on earth of the Church of England.

Henry's chief adviser in these measures was Thomas Cromwell, who was appointed the King's Vicar-General in ecclesiastical matters. Anxious to please his royal master by providing him with more money, he proposed that the monasteries should be closed, and their revenues given to the King. During the previous nine hundred years the monastic system had spread over the whole Kingdom, and there were a number of abbeys and

monasteries in Gloucestershire.\* Some were very wealthy; Cirencester Abbey, for instance, had a revenue of between £1,000 and £2,000 a year, and money was then worth seven times more than it is worth to-day. The smaller religious houses had revenues of less value. The total income for the whole kingdom was enormous. and therefore, if Cromwell's proposal could be carried out, a vast sum of money would go to the King. A long and bitter debate on the proposal took place in Parliament, and as a result the monasteries whose income was below £200 a year were suppressed, and their revenues granted to the Crown. Everywhere the people strongly resented the Act, and in Yorkshire they rose in a revolt known as the Pilgrimage of Grace. They asked, among other things, for the restoration of the monasteries, a reunion with Rome, and the punishment of Cromwell. The Duke of Norfolk was sent to disperse it, with an army of 2,000 men, which he thought enough for the purpose. He found the insurgent force so large, however, that the Marquis of Exeter went to his assistance with another 2,000 men. Even then he did not venture to attack his foes, and 1,000 men were sent to join him from Gloucestershire, under the command of Sir Anthony Kingston, a Gloucestershire man, and twice Sheriff of the county. The revolt was put down with great cruelty, all who took part in it being hanged or burnt at the stake. Discontent at Cromwell's system broke out again and again, and even those who remained silent were forced by an infamous law to reveal their thoughts or to suffer the penalty of treason to the King.

The booty gained by the suppression of the smaller monasteries led Cromwell to demand that the greater monasteries also should be dissolved. Among those who vehemently protested against it was the Bishop who then ruled over the county of Gloucester—Hugh Latimer, Bishop of Worcester. He knew very well that some of the religious houses in his diocese were not what they

<sup>\*</sup> Fuller information relative to religious houses in the county is given in the chapter on "Christianity in Gloucestershire."

should be. In some injunctions to the Prior of Worcester, for example, he stated that the ignorance and negligence of divers persons in the Priory were "intolerable, and not to be suffered," and that idolatry and "many kinds of superstition and other enormities" were prevalent. Nevertheless, he saw no need to shut up the monasteries in order to stop the evils within them. His policy was to mend, not to end. "Alas! my good Lord, shall we not see two or three in every shire changed to such remedy?" Latimer once wrote to Cromwell; and he heartily supported the prayer of the Prior for the continuance of Great Malvern monastery, "natt in monkrye, he maynyth natt so, God forbyd," said the Bishop, but for preaching, teaching, and hospitality, "for he feedeth many, and that daily, for the country is poor, and full of penury."

The unscrupulous Cromwell was deaf to such appeals, and in 1540 not a single monastery was left. The church of the great abbey of St. Peter in Gloucester became the Cathedral of a new diocese of Gloucester, but the monastic buildings, which extended beyond the Bishop's palace in one direction and College Green in the other, were pulled down. The church of St. Augustine's Abbey at Bristol became the Cathedral of a new diocese of Bristol, but, as at Gloucester, the monastic buildings were destroyed. A similar fate befel the monastery at Tewkesbury, but its church was preserved as a church for the parish. Abbeys at Cirencester, Flaxley, Hayles, Llanthony (Gloucester), and Winchcombe, buildings belonging to three Orders of Friars at Gloucester, and small religious houses at Deerhurst and Leonard Stanley also fell a prey to the King. Most of the Abbots, although unwillingly, signed a document surrendering their monasteries into the King's hands. Abbot Malvern, of St. Peter's, Gloucester, refused to do so, and has left an account of the transfer of the Abbey into the King's hands, of which a Catholic Church historian has given the following modern rendering:

"Having existed for eight hundred years under different forms, in poverty and in wealth, in meanness and in magnificence, in misfortune and in success, it finally succumbed to the royal will. The day came, and that a drear winter day, when its last mass was sung, its last censer waved, its last congregation bent in rapt and lowly adoration before the altar here; and, doubtless, as the last-tones of that day's evensong died away in the vaulted roof there were not wanting those who lingered in the solemn stillness of the old massive pile; and who, as the lights disappeared, one by one, felt that for them there was now a void which could never be filled, because their old abbey, with its beautiful services, its frequent means of grace, its hospitality to strangers, and its loving care for God's poor, had passed away like an early morning dream, and was gone for ever."

# CHAPTER XXXIII.

# GLOUCESTERSHIRE AND THE ENGLISH BIBLE.

On the summit of Nibley Knoll, and a landmark for many miles around, is a column which was erected by public subscription in 1866 as a memorial of William Tyndale, of North Nibley, a translator of the Bible into English. Tyndale was not the first man in Gloucestershire to translate the Scriptures from the original into the English tongue. In the closing years of the reign of Edward III. two men then living in this county did so. One was John Trevisa, the other was John Wycliffe. Trevisa was Vicar of Berkeley and Chaplain to three successive Lords Berkeley; Wycliffe was Rector of Aust. Trevisa's translation was of only a small portion of the Scriptures; Wycliffe's Bible became known throughout the land, although there was no printing press by which copies could be easily made. When Tyndale made his translation, the New Learning was awakening the religious spirit of the people, and the introduction of printing into England

had opened the way for a rapid and cheap multiplication of books.

Tyndale was born in North Nibley, in 1484. When a vouth he went to school at Oxford, where he read and studied an edition of the Greek Testament published by Erasmus, one of a group of eminent scholars known as the Oxford Reformers. From Oxford he went to the University of Cambridge, where he continued his studies, and in 1519 he left there and became tutor in the family of Sir John Walsh, of Little Sodbury Manor. The doctrines preached by Martin Luther on the Continent were then being eagerly discussed in England, and Tyndale accepted them, and preached them in Sodbury and the villages around. One day, it is said, in an argument with a Romanist divine, he exclaimed, "If God spares my life I will take care that a plough-boy shall know more of the Scriptures than vou de."

that he could no longer dwell in Sodbury, and he went to London. There he stayed for about a year, studying and preaching, but persecution was too strong, and he made his way to Wittenberg, the home of Luther, and became one of an enthusiastic band of students who had gathered there. Here he prepared his translation of the New Testament, which he got printed in Antwerp. To carry out his desire that a plough-boy should be able to read the Scriptures, Tyndale used words in common use and spelt them as they were commonly pronounced. Here is his translation of Mark xiv., 1—5:

"After two dayes folowed Easter, and the dayes of sweete breed. And the hye Prestes and the Scribes sought means, how they myght taeke him by crafte and put him to death. But they sayed: not in the feast daye, least eny busynes aryse amonge the people. When he was in Bethania, in the house of Symon the leper, even as he sate at meate, there came a woman havynge an alabaster boxe of oyntment caled narde, that was pure and costley: and she brake the boxe and powred it on his head. And theer were some that were not content in themselves, and sayde: wat neded this waeste of oyntment? For it myght have bene soolde for more then thre hundred pens, and bene geven unto the poore. And they grudged agaynst hyr."—MARK XIV., 1-5.

# The Epistle off the Apostle Paul 1 to the 20%

# The frest Chapter.



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and declared to be the some of God with power of the holy goost that sanctifieth, sence the tyme that selves Charle our elader of eagayne from deeth, by whom we have receased grace and as postles hipper that all gentiles spuide obeye to the faith which is in his namer of the which nos umbre are realso, which are selves by pocacion.

To all you of Lome beloved of God Ad fanctee by callynge. Grace be with you and peace from God oure father and from the loade Jestus Chaift.

Inft verely I thank my god thatow Jefus Chaift for you all because youre faith is public shed through out all the worlde. For godie my In the same year that he issued his translation of the New Testament (1535), Tyndale was put into prison by the Emperor of Germany, on a charge of heresy. At his trial he pleaded that the doctrines he taught were contained in the Bible, and that the Bible ought to be in a language which everyone could read. His defence was of no avail. He was found guilty of heresy; and on October 6th, 1536, at Vilvorde, a town near Brussels, he was fastened to a stake, strangled, and then burnt. It is said that the last words he spoke were: "Lord, open the eyes of the King of England."

Under the orders of the King (Henry VIII.) and his Chancellor (Cardinal Wolsey, Archbishop of York) the importation of Tyndale's books into England was forbidden. To avoid their seizure at the English ports, they were smuggled into the country, and circulated by an association known as "Christian Brethren." Some of these "Brethren" lived at Oxford, where the New Learning had many students, and probably from them copies of the Scriptures came into the county of Gloucester. Wolsey took severe measures to enforce the law. The Oxford "Brethren" were imprisoned, and their books seized, and a pile of New Testaments was burnt in St. Paul's Churchyard, in London. King wrote a book against the doctrines which Luther taught and Tyndale preached, and the Pope conferred on him the title of Defender of the Faith. When Henry turned against the Pope because he would not sanction his divorce from Catherine, Wolsey remained true to his Church. He saw its evils, but he hoped they would be gradually removed by improved education, and for that reason, among others, he encouraged the New Learning. He had to suffer for his loyalty. The King dismissed him from Court, deprived him of office, and ordered him to the Tower. He was saved from prison by dying in an abbey to which he had gone for much-needed rest and quiet, and his last moments were saddened by the reflection with which Shakespeare has made us familiat :

"O Cromwell, Cromwell! Had I but served my God with half the zeal I've served my King, He would not, in mine age Have left me naked to mine enemies."

The writers of the New Testament wrote in Greek. and the first Englishman who brought a knowledge of Greek into England was a Bristol man named William Grocyn. He studied it at Florence, and on his return to England was made Professor of Greek in the University of Oxford. One of his students was Erasmus, who published the Greek Testament which was studied by Tyndale in his youth, and afterwards translated by him into English. Another of Grocyn's students was Sir Thomas More, who succeeded Wolsey as Chancellor to Henry VIII. More was the most remarkable of the Oxford Reformers, and produced a book which he called *Utopia*, or "Nowhere," setting what he considered to be a practical programme of reform in English society. Some of his ideals have since been realised, such as the prevention of crime by better education of the people, and the abolition of hanging for theft. He was also an advocate of toleration in religion, believing that every man should be at liberty to hold what religious belief seemed best to himself. But with all his high ideals More had no tolerance with those who opposed his will as Chancellor, and he supported the clergy in putting down what they termed heresy by burning the heretics. Among those who suffered at the stake under his rule was James Baynham, son of a Gloucestershire knight who lived at Westbury-on-Severn, and held property in the Forest of Dean; and the dead body of Sir William Tracy, of Toddington, High Sheriff of Gloucestershire in 1502, was dragged from the tomb and burnt to ashes, because in his will he had proclaimed the doctrines held by Tyndale. Like other Catholics of the time, More's loyalty to his principles cost him his life. He resigned his office as Chancellor rather than take part in King

<sup>\*</sup> This is an expansion of words spoken by Wolsey to Sir William Kington (afterwards Lord of the Manor of Painswick).



GATEWAY OF TEWKESBURY MONASTERY. Parker, Photographer, Tewkesbury.



Ruins of Hailes Abbey.

Henry's attack on the Church, and three years later his life ended on the scaffold.

In the same year that More was executed (1535) the first entire Bible printed in English was published. Only five copies of it are known to exist, and one of these is in the Cathedral Library at Gloucester. Its translator was Miles Coverdale, a Court official, who officiated at Catherine Parr's funeral at Sudeley, near Winchcombe, in 1548. The translation of the Old Testament was his own work; the translation of the New Testament was founded on that made by Tyndale. On its completion it was placed in the hands of certain Bishops to report upon. Their report was that there were many faults in it. "But are there any heresies in it?" asked Henry VIII. The reply of the Bishops was that they could find none. "Then, in God's Name," said the King, "let it go abroad among our people." And a royal command went out to the clergyman of every parish that he should provide the Bible in Latin and in English for the use of anyone in the parish church.

The King's action was approved by Thomas Cromwell, the most powerful and the most tyrannical of his advisers, and who took the place vacated by Sir Thomas More. Like his royal master, Cromwell thought that the Bible would help to resist the Papal claims. His whole aim, indeed, was to exalt the King, and he used any means which would help to that end, and stooped to any evil deed by which any obstacle to it could be removed. His tyranny ultimately made him so unpopular that the King, fearing the people, had him charged with treason. On hearing the charge he exclaimed: "This, then, is my reward for the services I have done!" Without being even heard in his defence, he was sent to the scaffold. The Bible which he helped to give to the people rapidly spread through the land, and laid the foundations of the

Protestant faith in England.

# CHAPTER XXXIV.

#### GLOUCESTERSHIRE AND THE REFORMATION.

ONE of the Bishops who ruled over Gloucestershire during the reign of Henry VIII. was Hugh Latimer, and in the story of his life we may trace the course of the Reformation in this county. When a lad he was attracted to the New Learning, and he studied hard in Cambridge, and then in Italy. On his return to England he began to preach, and Henry VIII., who was a lover of learning, made him his chaplain. His preaching was very different from that which people had been accustomed to hear. King, Bishop, and peasant were warned of the judgment to come, and exhorted to lead better lives. While Latimer made friends by such preaching, he also made many enemies, and he was charged with heresy. The King took his part, however, and made him Bishop of the diocese of Worcester (which then included the county of Gloucester). For some time he strove hard to revive religion without attacking the Church. He saw, as other religious reformers saw, that the Papacy was the centre of a great religious organization, and he did not wish the Church in England to be separated from it. desire was to reform the Church by simplifying its doctrine and purifying its worship. But the movement for reform soon became much stronger than the men who tried to mould it. The doctrines of the Church were treated with public scorn, and those who opposed reform were persecuted. At last Latimer himself joined those who attacked the Church. He thrust the figure of the Virgin out of his Cathedral church at Worcester, and tauntingly preached to a Friar who was burnt as a heretic for maintaining that in spiritual things obedience was due to the Pope, and not to the King. A reaction followed, and an Act of Parliament was passed, known as the Law of the Six Articles, which maintained the old doctrines of the Church, but left the King's claim to supremacy of the Church untouched. With the reaction

the persecutors became the persecuted; and Latimer was forced to resign his bishopric, after only four years'

rule, and was cast into prison.

But the reaction did not last long. The Protestants, as those who shared the views held by Latimer were called, grew in numbers, and when Edward VI. came to the throne (in 1547) Protestantism was established as the religion of the State. The Six Articles were repealed, the Communion took the place of the Mass, a Prayer Book, only slightly different from that now in use, replaced the Roman Catholic Missal and Breviary. and Forty-two Articles of Religion (since reduced to Thirty-nine) were introduced as a standard of doctrine. Despite their religious zeal, however, the Protestants, like the Catholics, had failed to learn the true spirit of the religion which they professed. All clergymen, churchwardens and schoolmasters, were required to accept the new Articles of Faith, and everybody was commanded to use the new Liturgy and attend the new form of service at Church, refusal to do so being punished by imprisonment. Heretics were sent to the stake.

The shallowness of much of the religious zeal was also shown in the treatment of the clergy. Latimer refused to return to the bishopric from which he had been ejected by Henry VIII., but he accepted an invitation to be one of the preachers before Edward VI. He used the opportunity to denounce vigorously the greed and oppression of those in power, and to expose those who had robbed the Church. "We of the clergy," he once told the King and his Court, "had too much, but that is taken away, and now we have too little." On another occasion he declared, with indignation, that "the poor clergy, being kept to some sorry pittance, are forced to put themselves into gentlemen's houses, and there to serve as clerks of the kitchen, surveyors, and receivers, and other offices of the like kind," and, he added, "many benefices are let out in fee-farms given to servants for keeping of hounds, hawks, and horses." Only two things, he said, kept him from despair. "One is, that the King, when he comes of age, will see a redress of these things; the other, that the general Accounting Day is near at

hand, the dreadful Day of Judgment.

Edward VI. did not live to come of age. He was only nine years old when he became King; and he had not reached the age of sixteen when he died. With the accession of Mary, Roman Catholic worship in the churches was resumed, and the bishops who had been ejected were reinstated. These changes were willingly accepted by the people. Mary also wished to give back to the Church the lands which her father had taken from it, and to restore the authority of the Pope. these proposals the people strongly objected; and dissatisfaction with the Queen was increased by her desire to marry her cousin Philip, eldest son of the King of Spain. The result was an insurrection in favour of Elizabeth (afterwards Queen). Sir Thomas Wyatt led the insurgents in the South of England. and was joined by Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, a member of an old Gloucestershire family. The revolt was quickly quelled by Mary's troops, and Elizabeth committed to the Tower. An attempt by the Duke of Northumberland to put Lady Jane Grey, a girl of sixteen, on the throne had previously been defeated by an army which included twenty-five soldiers from Gloucester, and the Duke, Lady Jane Grey, and her young husband perished on the scaffold.

After Mary's marriage a new Parliament was called, which passed laws for the burning of heretics, and restored the supremacy of the Pope, but refused to surrender the abbey lands. A great persecution of the Protestants followed, probably intensified by their anxiety to place a Protestant sovereign on the throne. One of the earliest martyrs was John Hooper, second Bishop of the diocese of Gloucester which Henry VIII. had created by dividing the old diocese of Worcester into two portions. Hooper had laboured with great zeal and energy throughout his own diocese, and at the request of the King's Council he visited the diocese of Worcester. While there he wrote to the Secretary of State:—"Syns my commyng down from London I have byn at Worcestre, and thought not to have depart'd thense til I had set thinges in a good order, as nere as I could. But the negligence and the ungodly behaviour of the mynisters in Gloucestershire compeled me to retourne."

Hooper had been arrested before the law for burning heretics was passed, and for seventeen months he was kept in a loathsome prison on a false charge. He was then brought before a Court and condemned to death, and he was taken from London, through Cirencester, to Gloucester, to be burnt in the city where he had lived. His death took place on a spot in St. Mary's Square, Gloucester, now marked by a memorial which bears the following inscription:—

GLORIA SOLI DEO.

For the witness of Jesus and for the Word of God, "not accepting deliverance," John Hooper, D.D., Bishop of Gloucester and Worcester, was burnt to ashes on this spot, February 9, Anno Domini 1555.

Others who suffered in the county for their Protestant faith were—Thomas Drowry, a blind boy, of Gloucester; John Horne, carpenter, of Wottonunder-Edge; John Piggott, of Little Sodbury; Edward Horne, of Newent; John Coberley, of Cheltenham; and four men in Bristol. Latimer and Ridley, Bishop of London, were burnt to death at Oxford. "Play the man, Master Ridley," cried the old Gloucestershire bishop as the flames shot up around him; "we shall this day light such a candle, by God's grace, in England, as I trust shall never be put out." On the same spot, a few months later, Archbishop Cranmer met a like death. The persecution lasted for two years more. Instead of being stamped out, however, Protestantism flourished more than ever; and with the accession of Elizabeth, in 1558, it once more became the State religion of the land.

#### CHAPTER XXXV.

# THE SPANISH ARMADA.

In the Summer of 1588 there was great alarm in the county of Gloucester, and especially along the banks The Spanish Armada had left Spain of the Severn. to invade England, and any day some of its ships might be seen sailing up the Severn and landing men on either shore. From Lydney to Chepstow on the western side of the river, and from Aust to Kingroad on the eastern side, men were on the look-out night and day, and horsemen stood near them ready to ride forth and spread the news that the enemy was in sight. Along the brow of the Cotswolds and on most of the prominent hills in the Severn Valley beacon fires were laid, ready to be lighted if the enemy came at night. The national danger had everywhere aroused men to action, and in every town and village in Gloucestershire men awaited the call to come forth and fight the foe. Out in the English Channel the barque Sutton, fitted at the cost of the people of Gloucester and Tewkesbury, had joined a fleet under Admiral Sir Francis Drake, who only a short time before had been living in a house at Gatcombe, not far from the Severn Bridge.

During the whole of July the watch was kept, the beacon fires remained laid, and the fighting men worked with their arms at hand. On the last day of the month the sails of the Armada were seen from the Lizard, the westernmost look-out along the south coast. In stirring verse Macaulay tells how the call to arms was carried by beacon fire and swift-footed horse:—

Right sharp and quick the bells all night rang out from Bristol town,

And ere the day three hundred horse had met on Clifton Down; The sentinel on Whitehall gate looked forth into the night, And saw o'erhanging Richmond Hill the streak of blood-red light;

And broader still became the blaze, and louder still the din, As fast from every village round the horse came spurring in: And on, and on, without a pause, untired they bounded still: All night from tower to tower they sprang: they sprang from hill to hill.

Till the proud Peak unfurled the flag o'er Darwin's rocky dales, Till like volcanoes flared to heaven the stormy hills of Wales, Till twelve fair counties saw the blaze on Malvern's lonely height, Till streamed in crimson on the wind the Wrekin's crest of light, Till broad and fierce the star came forth on Ely's stately fane, And tower and hamlet rose in arms o'er all the boundless plain. When the Armada was sighted, Drake was playing bowls with his captains on Plymouth Hoe, and refused to break off play, saying there was time to finish the game and to beat the Spaniards too. A strong wind blew the enemy's ships up Channel, and when they had gone by the English fleet followed them up, with the wind behind it. In numbers and size the Spanish ships had the advantage, and although the seamen in the two fleets were nearly equal in number-8,000 or 9,000 in each—the Spanish vessels carried 20,000 wellarmed and experienced soldiers. But the English ships sailed faster, had better cannon, and were better handled. For nearly a week the fight went on, "the feathers of the Spaniard being plucked one by one," said the English seamen, as the enemy's ships were sunk or driven on shore. At last the Spaniards lost all hope, and tried to return home. The English fleet, however, barred their way down Channel, and the only other course open was a circuit round Scotland. A shortness of ammunition forced Drake to give up the chase, but what he failed to do was done by the storms of the northern seas. Of the 130 ships which composed the Armada only fifty returned home, the remainder being destroyed by the English seamen or wrecked on the Scotch and Irish coasts. Of the twentyeight thousand men who sailed with the Armada only ten thousand lived to tell the tale of its destruction.

To understand why the Spaniards tried to invade England we must look at some of the events that had happened since the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, thirty years before. By doing so we may also realise what England was saved from when the Armada was destroyed.

Elizabeth was a Protestant, and the first work of her Parliament was to restore the Protestant faith as the faith of the State Church. The second Prayer Book

of Edward VI., with a few alterations, again came into use, and a new Act of Supremacy was passed which made the Queen Supreme Governor of the Realm, "as well in all spiritual and ecclesiastical things as temporal," and made it an offence punishable with death to maintain the authority of any foreign prince or bishop. All the hishops except one refused to accept the new order of things, and new bishops were appointed in their stead; the whole of the clergy, save two hundred, submitted. Most of the people were quietly settling down in religious peace when the Pope issued an order forbidding the presence of Catholics at the new worship. The order was widely obeyed, and in the North of England some of the old nobility entered Durham Cathedral, tore in pieces the English Bible and Prayer Book, and knelt while Mass was said. Next they formed a league for the purpose of forcing Elizabeth to withdraw her support from Protestantism and to acknowledge Mary, Queen of Scots (grand-daughter of Henry VII.) as her heir to the throne; and a part of their plan was that Mary should marry the Duke of Norfolk, brother of Lady Berkeley. of Berkeley Castle. The league was easily broken up by an army sent by Elizabeth, and Norfolk was for a short time put in prison. On his release he joined Mary and many lords of "the old blood," as they styled themselves, in an appeal to Philip, King of Spain, to help them with a Spanish army. Philip agreed to do so, and also gave his approval, though he afterwards withdrew it, to a proposal that Elizabeth should be murdered, and that Mary should then become Queen of England, with Lady Berkeley's brother as her husband.

The plot was discovered before it could be carried into effect, and the Duke of Norfolk was sent to the scaffold. This was in 1572. Fourteen years later a new conspiracy for murdering Elizabeth was formed, in which a young Catholic, named Anthony Babington, was most prominent. This was also discovered, mainly by the Queen's Secretary, Sir Francis Walsingham, who owned land in the Severn-side village of Arlingham; and, despite her protests of innocence, Mary was said to have

taken part in it, and was beheaded in Fotheringay Castle. The English Catholics had for a long time been the victims of much persecution, and a band of Jesuits who had come from the Continent to strengthen them in their faith were sent in batches to gaol or to the stake. The death of Mary removed the last obstacle out of Philip's way, and as Mary had bequeathed to him her rights to the English Crown, he concluded that the time had come to bring England under his own and the Pope's rule.

Spain was then the mightiest power on the Continent. Her conquests in the New World which followed the discoveries of Columbus had poured vast wealth into her Treasury; the skill and enterprise of her seamen took her ships into seas where no other European vessels had ever sailed; her soldiers were steady and daring, and led by generals without rivals in military skill. Flanders, Portugal, Italy, Germany, had in turn to bow beneath her yoke, and even France shrank from taking up arms against her. Philip also had other than religious and ambitious reasons for an invasion of England. His foes in the Netherlands had been helped by a crowd of young English soldiers, led by Sir Philip Sydney, nephew of the Earl of Leicester, to whom Elizabeth had given the parishes of Wotton-under-Edge and Nibley in the great law-suit about the Berkeley estates. English mariners went out as pirates and captured numbers of richly-laden Spanish ships. Sir Francis Drake, passing through the Straits of Magellan, was the first Englishman to sail the Pacific Ocean, and after loading his vessel with gold and silver stolen from the Spaniards, reached home by way of the Cape of Good Hope, having thus circumnavigated the globe. While the Armada was being got ready, Drake ran into the Spanish ports and burnt the store-ships, thus, as he called it, "singeing the King of Spain's beard." Revenge, therefore, as well as worldly ambition and religious zeal moved Philip to attempt an invasion of England, and it would have gone hard with the country if the attempt had succeeded.

But the English Catholics were loyal to their Queen and country. The commander of the English fleet was Lord Howard of Effingham, a Catholic; Catholic gentry put their own vessels under Drake's command of the privateers; Catholic lords led their tenantry to the mustering places of the army. And Protestants and Catholics joined the Queen when she went in State to St. Paul's Cathedral to return thanks to God that England had been saved from the foreign invader.

#### CHAPTER XXXVI.

# THE DAYS OF "GOOD QUEEN BESS."

ELIZABETH'S reign lasted for forty-four years, and during the greater part of that time England advanced in wealth and power. The long peace, only broken by an insurrection in Ireland, enabled men to give time and money to the development of agriculture, manufactures and commerce. The skill and enterprise which defeated the Spanish Armada led our seamen to all parts of the navigable globe. The growth of learning and the spread of printed books developed our literature and encouraged education. The social evils from which the people suffered were alleviated, and the foundations of our poorlaw system were laid.

In this general prosperity Gloucestershire fully shared. Woollen manufactures sprang up in and near the Stroud Valley, and the broadcloths of Gloucestershire became famous throughout England. Iron-works were-erected in the Forest of Dean, and the coal industry of the district increased. Bristol harbour was filled with vessels, and more ships were built there than in any other port in England, except London. Gloucester was, by royal order, made a port, with a right to collect customs, but Bristol became jealous, and got the order cancelled. Small vessels carried grain up the Severn to Tewkesbury. The development of manufactures increased the number of people to be fed, and landowners

found it profitable to grow corn instead of turning their arable lands into pasture. The chief obstacle to trade was a system under which the Queen granted to her courtiers the right to deal exclusively in a multitude of articles, mostly common necessaries of life. Coal, leather, salt, iron, lead, yarn, glass, and many other commodities were in consequence only to be obtained at ruinous prices. But the growing opposition of the people at last became so strong that Elizabeth made a virtue of a necessity, and the monopolies were abolished.

Increased wealth brought increased comforts. The houses of the wealthy were richly decorated, and wattled farmhouses were superseded by dwellings of brick and stone. Glass came into use for windows, and chimneys took the place of holes in the roof to let out the smoke. Floors were covered with carpets instead of rushes: flock beds supplanted straw pallets; pillows, which were thought to be fit only for sick women, took the place of a log of wood or a bag of chaff; pewter replaced wooden trenchers for the table. In extravagance of dress the Queen set an example, for she had three thousand robes, and paintings of the period and sculptured effigies in our churches tell how her example was copied by her wealthier subjects. The varieties of food were added to by the potato, which was brought from North America by Sir Walter Raleigh, and the luxuries of men were increased by tobacco, brought from Virginia by Sir Walter Raleigh, who smoked a pipe just before he went to the scaffold.

The daily life of the people in the small towns of Gloucestershire may be pictured from the court books of Tewkesbury and Northleach, which are still preserved. To-day all local government is subject to the control of Parliament, acting through Government departments. Even a County Council, for instance, cannot make a law to punish a boy who uses a catapult in the street without first getting it sanctioned by the Local Government Board. There was no central authority in London to worry townspeople in the days of "Good Queen Bess."

Every year, generally in October, they met and elected a man to rule over them, who was called a bailiff. Next to him in rank were six townsmen, who were termed arbitrators. Bailiff and arbitrators acting together made a Court, which was held several times a year. officers were a Town Clerk, a Sergeant-at-Mace, two constables, and two wardsmen. The Court was got together by one of the officers ringing the town bell thrice in half-an-hour. Just before the time for the Court to open, the bailiff, attended by his officers, walked from his dwelling to the Court House, where he was joined by the arbitrators, who, as the Northleach Court Book quaintly puts it, were "apparelled in gowns or other decent upper garments." Every tradesman in the town also had to attend, and absence without just cause was punished by a fine of twopence. The dignity of the Court was preserved in many ways. Anyone bringing a "vexatious suit" against an officer was fined 39s. 9d., and even to nickname, mock, or "make game of" an arbitrator was an offence punishable with a fine of sixpence and a flogging.

The powers of the Court were those now possessed by a Town Council, a Police Court, a County Court, and the licensing magistrates, as well as some now exercised by the County Council and Quarter Sessions. punishment other than fines or imprisonment offenders were put in the stocks, the pillory, or the tumbrel (or ducking stool). Stocks are still preserved at Charlton Kings, Painswick, Stow-on-the-Wold, and other places in the county. The pillory was a wooden frame, about five feet high, pierced with holes, in which a person's neck and wrists were fastened. The tumbrel was something like a high see-saw, with a chair at one end, in which the culprit was strapped and ducked in a river or pond. It was devised for the punishment of dishonest traders; in later days it was chiefly used for women, to save them from the pillory and the stocks. One of the latest instances of its use in this county was in 1719, when a Bristol woman was "ducked" because

she had a scolding tongue.



THE PAINSWICK STOCKS.



The books kept at Tewkesbury and Northleach give in detail the laws made by the Court, the penalties for breaking them, and some of the names of offenders. From All Hallows Day to Easter the town bell was rung at nine o'clock at night, and from Easter to All Hallows Day at ten o'clock, and any person out of doors after the bell had rung was put in the stocks for the night. From All Saints' Eve until Candlemas Daythat is, during the months of November, December, and January-except when the moon was shining, every tradesman and innkeeper had to put a lighted candle or lantern in a window facing the street, and keep it there from dusk until eight o'clock at night. None might set up in trade without a licence from the bailiff, for which a townsman paid two shillings, and a non-resident 3s. 4d. The prices and weights of loaves of bread were fixed from time to time, and anyone charging more than the proper price or giving short weight or measure had to pay a fine. All shops had to be closed at eight o'clock at night, under penalty of one shilling. Great care was taken that all food sold should be wholesome. Butter had to be sold in the open street, so that it might be seen by the arbitrators and constables; pigs could not be sold without a warrant that they were sound and free from disease; bad meat was seized and burnt, and in the Northleach book there is an entry of a payment of sixpence for faggots "to burn a measely pigg." The number of public-houses was limited; an inn must be entered and left (except by its occupants) by the front door, and for not doing so there was a fine of six shillings; and anyone found in an inn after the night ringing of the town bell was committed to the stocks all night.

There were several rules as to Sunday observance. An entry in the Tewkesbury Court-Book says: "It is ordained as a thing most decent, comely, and much commended by strangers, that all the principal burgesses shall, twice every Sabbath Day, meet at the Town Hall to accompany the Bailiff to church, but being so laudable it is thought needless to be made penal." Every master,

child, and man-servant going to church on Sunday had to wear a knitted cap, or pay a fine of twopence; and anyone playing games or dancing during the hours of divine service was fined sixpence, and the owner of the house in which the offence was committed had to pay one shilling. Shopkeepers were allowed to do business early in the morning of Sunday, but without taking down their shutters.

Although there were few regular soldiers, every townsman was expected to be always ready to do a soldier's duty. Under orders from the bailiff they met from time to time to practice shooting with bow and arrow, and absence without reasonable cause was punished with a fine of sixpence, which would be equal to a fine of ten shillings at the present day. When the insurrection in Ireland broke out, near the end of Elizabeth's reign, the people of Tewkesbury paid £24 Ios. to change their bows and arrows for muskets, and similar changes were gradually made throughout the country; and when the civil war broke out, forty years later, every soldier was armed with a gun, which was the predecessor of the famous "Brown Bess."

# CHAPTER XXXVII.

# THE STATE AND THE POOR.

Poor people who cannot earn a living have by law a right to be helped by the State. In the county of Gloucester the amount spent out of rates and taxes in relief of the poor amounts to about £25,000 a year. Part of it is spent in the maintenance of people in workhouses, and part in grants of money and food to poor people who live in their own homes. This system of relieving the destitute out of State funds began in the year 1601, two years before the death of Queen Elizabeth.

Up to that time poor people who needed help had to get it by begging, and were helped in various ways. The monks were very charitable, and one of the reasons which the Bishop who ruled over Gloucestershire gave why the monasteries should not be destroyed was that their inmates were good to the poor. Most of the clergy and landowners also gave assistance, and after the dissolution of the monasteries collections for the poor were made in the parish churches every Sunday. Besides getting help by these means, old and feeble persons were for a long time granted licenses to beg within specified districts. Persons who begged without a license or begged outside their districts were whipped for a first offence, and had their ears cut off for a second; and any able-bodied person who was a third time convicted of begging was hanged.

Despite these severe penalties, begging increased rather than diminished, and in the reign of Queen Elizabeth an Act of Parliament was passed which is the basis of our modern poor-laws. Every parish was made responsible for the maintenance of its own poor out of a rate levied on the landed property of the parish. rate was made, collected, and spent by the churchwardens and two to four persons termed "overseers of the poor." They had to provide work for all ablebodied persons who had no means to maintain themselves, and to relieve those who were unable to work. and who had no parents, grand-parents, or children able to maintain them. There was, however, nothing to prevent able-bodied paupers going to any parish that they pleased for employment, and as a consequence they flocked into those parishes where they could get the most help. In the reign of Charles II. this migration of paupers was stopped by what is called the law of settlement—a law that any pauper might be sent back to the parish in which he was born, or in which he had last lived for at least forty days. Much of the money given to the poor was, however, recklessly distributed by the overseers, and by degrees poor people looked to the parish for support, rather than to their own honest industry.

A few years before Queen Victoria came to the throne, the evils of the system had increased pauperism to such an alarming extent that in 1834 a new law was passed which entirely altered the poor-law system. Instead of each parish maintaining its own poor, parishes were grouped into Unions; instead of relief being distributed by the overseers, it was distributed by a Board of Guardians, composed of representatives from every parish in the Union; instead of work being found for the able-bodied, they were left to find it themselves, or else to enter a Workhouse.

Seventeen Unions wère formed in Gloucestershire, and a Workhouse was built in each Union. general idea on which a Union was formed was that of taking a market town as a centre, and uniting the surrounding parishes. The centres selected in this county were Bristol, Cheltenham, Chipping Sodbury, Cirencester, Dursley, Gloucester, Newent, Northleach, Stow-on-the-Wold, Stroud, Tetbury, Tewkesbury, Thornbury, Westbury-on-Severn, and Winchcombe. Several parishes south of Gloucester were formed into a Union called Wheatenhurst, there not being any town in the Union to give a name to it. A few parishes west of Bristol were formed into a Union called Barton Regis. Some of the parishes on the boundaries of the county were grouped with parishes in adjoining counties. The triangular corner of the county between Lydney, St. Briavels, and the mouth of the Wye was attached to the Chepstow Union; the Coleford district was joined to Monmouth Union; Ruardean to Ross Union; a few parishes in the north of the county were divided between the Unions of Evesham and Shipston-on-Stour; Lechlade was put into the Berkshire Union of Faringdon; and a district east of Bristol was added to the Somerset Union of Keynsham.

The beneficial effects of the new law were quickly manifested, and in the year that Queen Victoria ascended the throne (1837) the expenditure for the relief of the poor in this county was several thousands of pounds less than it was in the year before the Act was passed.

In the Kingdom as a whole the reduction amounted to about three millions a year. Some of the provisions of the Act have since been partly relaxed, especially as to the application of the Workhouse test. But in its fundamental principle, that the relief of the poor is the duty of the State, our poor-law system dates from the time of Elizabeth; and the rates from which the poor are maintained are still collected, although not distributed, by overseers, who first were appointed in her reign.

#### CHAPTER XXXVIII.

#### EDUCATION IN GLOUCESTERSHIRE.

In the county of Gloucester, exclusive of the city of Bristol, about £200,000 is spent every year upon the education of children in Public Elementary Schools. In all these schools education is entirely free, the cost being paid out of rates and taxes. Many thousands of pounds are also provided from the same sources every year for education in Grammar Schools, Schools of Science and Art, and in Evening Schools where various subjects are taught. Since 1870 school accommodation has been provided for every child in England, and since 1880 every child, on reaching the age of five years, has been compelled to attend school or to receive efficient instruction at home.

There were schools in Gloucestershire in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. There is a record of a school in Cirencester as early as 1282, and Lady Berkeley founded and endowed a free school at Wotton-under-Edge in 1385. In the reign of Henry VI. Robert Greyndour, of Newland, near Coleford, gave certain property to maintain "a discreet priest sufficiently learned in the art of grammar to keep a Grammar

School half free, that is to say, taking of scholars learning grammar eightpence the quarter, and of others to read fourpence the quarter." A few years later John Chedworth, Bishop of Lincoln, a member of a Cotswold family, founded the Grammar School at Cirencester which still exists, and endowed it with flo a year, payable by the monastery of Winchcombe, to which he had given some property. It was, however, in the reign of Elizabeth that education began to spread in this county. Richard Pate, of Minsterworth, an officer at Elizabeth's Court, speaks of "her divine and fervent zeal for the advancement of learning and good literature." Looking round for money to give practical effect to her zeal, she found it in one of the sources of the royal treasury. In Norman and Plantagenet times it was a common custom for wealthy persons to leave property to the Church, on condition that prayers were offered at an altar for the repose of their souls and for the souls of others, and sometimes for the welfare of the King and other members of the Royal Family. As these prayers were always chanted, the office of the priest who offered them, with the payment for them, was termed a chantry. After Henry VIII. had dissolved the monasteries and seized their revenues, the Church was further robbed of her chantries. During the reigns of Edward VI. and Mary, and the early years of the reign of Elizabeth, the revenues of the chantries went into the royal treasury, but in the middle of her reign Elizabeth began to grant some of the money for the establishment of schools. There were nearly two hundred chantries in Gloucestershire, some of them of considerable value, and the total income from them must have been equal to several thousands of pounds a year in money of the present day.

One of the schools in this county which was partly endowed with chantry money was the Grammar School at Cheltenham. Its founder was Richard Pate, and in the "rules, orders, statutes and ordinances" he made for the government of the school we get a picture of school life in Queen Elizabeth's reign.

The income from the endowment was sufficient to give free instruction in all the ordinary English subjects and in the dead languages. But at his first admission to the school every town boy had to pay an entrance fee of fourpence, and every boy not living in the town an entrance fee of eightpence. With this money, said the rules. "the schoolmaster shall (according to the true value of the same) buy and provide such Latin and Greek books as shall be most necessary for the public use of the said scholars, to be tied fast with little chains for that purpose in some convenient place of the said school," and when enough books had been purchased the entrance fees went into the schoolmaster's pocket. Absentees were a trouble then as they are now. For what Pate termed "the reformation of divers enormities and disorders used in the often absence of scholars from school, especially in the time of harvest," there was a rule that any scholar absent for four whole school-days in any year, except for sickness or other reasonable cause, had to pay eightpence (equal to about 13/- to-day) to be re-admitted. A similar penalty was inflicted if a boy did not return to school within fourteen days after proclamation that it was free from the plague or pestilence. The schoolmaster and usher also suffered if they neglected their duties. "Many grievous enormities," Pate wrote, "happen in many schools of this realm, the whole fee or wages being allowed to the schoolmaster, although he hath but a very few scholars to teach, a disorder commonly growing by the negligent demeanour of the said schoolmaster, by bringing the school into discredit, and thereby causing the number of scholars to decrease." The schoolmaster's stipend was £16 a year, and the usher's salary was £4 a year; and Pate ordered that unless the number of scholars in the school was at least fifty, the schoolmaster's salary should be only twenty marks\* a year, and the usher £2 a year.

The rule relating to the schoolmaster's salary shows

<sup>\*</sup> A mark was 13s. 4d. Although no longer a current coin, it is still used (in amount) in the Universities and in the legal profession.

that a considerable amount of time was given to the teaching of the dead languages. Of the fifty scholars necessary to ensure the full salary being paid to the schoolmaster, it was ordered that "four at the least shall have knowledge in the Greek and Latin tongues, and be able to make exercises in prose and verse in those tongues, and to speak the Latin tongue extempore, and five other of that number able to translate any piece of familiar English speech into Latin; and four others able to make a sentence of true Latin, between the nominative case and the verb; and fourteen other able and ready to learn the rules or accidence to the rules of construction; and the residue shall be children of good aptness to learn." Once a year a member of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, came to the school, and spent from eight or nine until eleven o'clock in the forenoon, and from one until three o'clock in the afternoon, "in opposing, trying, and examining the scholars, thereby to understand how they prosper in learning, and what diligence and dexterity in teaching the schoolmaster and usher there do or shall use in their office ": and then to judge "which four scholars have showed themselves best scholars of the whole number in the said disputations, and also which three of the next three fourmes to the highest fourmes have proved themselves the best scholars severally of the said three fourmes." What followed is thus quaintly described in the rules of the school:

And according to such judgment he [the Examiner] shall with some convenient oration in Latin give conclusion to that day's exercise, and dispose to the said Scholars such gifts and rewards as the said Richard Pate, the founder (knowing that honour and reward yielded to virtue and learning doth greatly augment the same, especially in youth) hath appointed to be for ever provided for that purpose, that is to say, to the best of the four so allowed, a pen of silver, wholly gilt, of the price of 2s. 6d.; to the second best of the said four, a pen of silver, parcel gilt, of the price of 1s. 8d.; to the third, a pen of silver, of the price of 1s. 4d., and to the fourth a pen and inkhorn, of the price of 6d., which four shall be termed the four victors of the said School for that year, and that the other three adjudged the three best Scholars of the next three several fourmes to the highest, have every of them a quire of paper, price 4d, the

quire, for their rewards: which being done, and the oration of the said Visitor concluded, the whole company of scholars shall go in decent order by two and two into the parish church of Cheltenham aforesaid, the four victors coming last, next before the said Schoolmaster and Usher, each of them having a laurel garland on his head, provided for that purpose, and the other three rewarded Scholars shall go together in one rank, next before the said four victors, each of them holding his quire of paper rolled up in his right hand. And in the said Church they shall all kneel or stand in some convenient place, to be appointed by the said Schoolmaster, and there say or sing some convenient psalm or hymn, with a prayer, wherein shall be some convenient making mention of the church, the prince, the realm, the town, and the said founder, with his posterity then living, as shall be unto them appointed by the said Schoolmaster for the time being in that behalf.

The school was founded in 1571, and it had been in existence for fourteen years when Pate made these rules for its management. The population of Cheltenham at that time was only from 600 to 800,\* and the number of families in the town and surrounding villages was probably not more than two hundred. As the schoolmaster's stipend was to be reduced if the number of scholars were less than fifty, most of the boys within half-a-dozen miles of the school probably attended it, and received instruction in what Pate terms "the exercise of grammar and the liberal arts and sciences." The population at Cirencester in Elizabeth's reign was about 1,500, and an official record of the period gives 100 to 120 as the number of scholars then attending the Cirencester Grammar School. The later history of both schools is that they became feeble and almost So also did most of the Grammar Schools in the Kingdom, and it was not until after a Schools' Inquiry Commission of 1865 revealed their lamentable state of decay that Parliament interfered, and by passing the Endowed Schools Act of 1869 began a series of legislative measures for the betterment of what the Education Act of 1902 terms "higher education."

Charity schools for the poor were established in

<sup>\*</sup> A Parliamentary document of Henry VIII.'s reign gives the number of "houseling people" as 600.

Gloucester, Cheltenham, Cirencester, Wotton-under-Edge, and other places in the county during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Boys and girls were often clothed as well as taught free of cost, the boys being clad in long blue or yellow coats, leather breeches, and coloured stockings, and the girls in coloured dresses, with white aprons, bonnets, and white tippets. The clothing disappeared thirty years ago, when the schools were altered by the Charity Commissioners.

Our modern system of education dates from the end of the eighteenth century. One of its founders was Dr. Andrew Bell, a clergyman of the Church of England, who died in Cheltenham in 1832, and was buried in Westminster Abbey. Another was Joseph Lancaster, son of a Chelsea pensioner. Bell introduced a system of mutual tuition by the pupils. Lancaster extended the system, and was encouraged by George III., who expressed a wish that every poor child in his dominions should be taught to read the Bible. The success of his methods and the strong support given to him by Dissenters led to the establishment of a great number of schools, which in 1808 were associated under a central body known as the British and Foreign School Society. The design of Lancaster and of the Society was to make national education Christian, but not sectarian. Bell's aim was to teach the doctrines of the Church as well as to give secular instruction, and he organized a system of schools which in 1811 developed into the "National Society for the Education of the Poor in the principles of the Established Church." Elementary schools were also established by the Roman Catholic Poor School Committee and the Wesleyan Connexional Committee.

In the county of Gloucester, exclusive of Bristol, there are about 100 elementary schools (Council and a few British), attended by about 23,000 children, in which the religious education is unsectarian; and about 350 schools, attended by 40,000 children, in which instruction is given in the principles of the Church of England. From all these schools there is now an educational ladder up which a boy may, and not infrequently does, climb to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge,—a ladder partly constructed out of a school system which we largely owe to "good Queen Bess."

### CHAPTER XXXIX.

### THE GUNPOWDER PLOT.

WHATEVER other historical dates a schoolboy may forget, he never forgets the anniversary of the Gunpowder Plot. Guy Fawkes is, of course, always associated with it, and his effigy\* is on the Fifth of November still carried about, and then burnt in a bonfire. But Fawkes was only one of several men concerned in the plot, and had no part in its origin. The author of the plot was Robert Catesby, who was a relative of John Throckmorton, of Lypiatt Park, Stroud, and it is said that once, while he was staying there, he was visited by some of his fellow conspirators. Among the letters about the plot which are still preserved is one addressed to Catesby, at Lypiatt. Its writer was Lord Monteagle, who ten days before Parliament was to open received an anonymous letter warning him not to attend the opening, for, said the writer, "they shall receive a terrible blowe this parleamant." The letter passed from Monteagle into the hands of the King, and the result was the discovery, on the 5th November, 1605, of thirty-six barrels of gunpowder in a vault under the House of Lords, and Guy Fawkes near them with a tinder-box and some touchwood in his pockets. Fawkes was seized, and seven of his fellow conspirators soon afterwards were captured, and in the following January all were hanged.

<sup>\*</sup> A person of queer look or dress is often termed a "guy."

To understand the object of Gunpowder Plot we must go back forty years. Soon after Elizabeth came to the throne an Act was passed which ordered archbishops, bishops, clergy, judges, magistrates, mayors, and all other persons holding any public office, to declare on oath the Queen to be supreme governor of the realm in spiritual as well as in temporal things. In accordance with this order, Richard Cheyney, B.D., when consecrated Bishop of Gloucester in 1562, took the oath in the following prescribed form:

"I, Richard Cheyney, Bacheler of Divinities, now elect Busshop of Gloucester, do utterly testify and declare, in my conscience, that your Maiesty is the only supreme Gouernour of this realme, and of all other your highnesses domynions and contreys, as well in all spiritual or ecclesiasticall things or causes, as temporall. And that no forain Prince, parson, Prelate, State or potentate, hath or ought to have any jurisdiction, power, superioritie, preeminence or authoritie, ecclesiasticall or spirituall, within this realme. And therefore I do utterly renounce and forsake all forain jurisdiction, powers, superiorities and authorities."

By another Act, known as the Act of Uniformity. every person was required to attend his parish church every Sunday and holy day, under a penalty of one shilling for each wilful omission. Both laws pressed with great severity upon Roman Catholics, who regarded the Pope, and not the Sovereign, as their spiritual head, and preferred their own form of worship. Other persecuting Acts followed, and in 1570 the Pope excommunicated and deposed Elizabeth, and absolved all her subjects from their oaths of fidelity and allegiance. Parliament replied by passing an Act which practically made every. Romanist subject to the penalty of loss of lands and goods as in cases of high treason. In 1577 the Bishop of every diocese was ordered to certify the names of all persons who refused to attend church to hear divine service, with the value of their lands and goods.

The return made by the Bishop of Gloucester for his diocese gives the names of absentees from church in Alderton, Barnwood, Berkeley, Bibury, Bromsberrow, Cam, Cheltenham, Cirencester, Cowley, Dumbleton, Eastleach, Forthampton, Frampton-on-Severn, Gloucester,

Hardwicke, Harescombe, Haresfield, Hasfield, Hatherop, Horsley, Kempley, Leckhampton, Little Compton, Lydney, Mickleton, Moreton Valence, Newent, Newland, Nibley, Northleach, Oxenhall, Pebworth, Pitchcombe, Quinton, Randwicke, Sherborne, Slimbridge, Southrop, Stratton, Stroud, Teddington, Tidenham, Todenham, Weston-sub-Edge, Wickwar, Winchcombe, Winterbourne, and Wotton-under-Edge. The wealthiest man was Mr. John Palmer, of Todenham, who is said to have had £200 a year in goods and lands; others had varying amounts, some as low as six shillings; and several are described as "worth nothinge." The patriotism and loyalty of the Roman Catholics in fighting the Spanish Armada failed to bring them any relief, and five years later Parliament passed an Act against "Popish recusants," as persons who did not attend church were called, forbidding them to travel more than five miles from home, and providing that if they had not goods enough to pay a monthly fine of £20 they should leave the country or go to prison.

Shortly before the death of Elizabeth, James VI., of Scotland, son of Mary, Queen of Scots, had sought the support of the Roman Catholics in his claim to the English throne, and when he became King, as James I., their persecution was for a time relaxed. But it soon began again, with even greater severity, and six thousand Catholics were punished as recusants in a single year. It was then that a few desperate men, some of them old plotters and companions in conspiracies, joined together, with Catesby as their head, and planned the Gunpowder Plot. Their hope was that in blowing up the King, Lords and Commons at the opening of Parliament they would also blow up the King's two sons, and if the plot succeeded they intended to make the King's daughter, Elizabeth, Queen, and to take care that she was brought up as a Roman Catholic. The discovery of the plot was followed by a stringent enforcement of the law against Catholics, and the Fifth of November was by Act of Parliament ordered to be kept as a day of thanksgiving for ever, an Act which was not repealed for over two centuries.

### CHAPTER XL.

### THE CIVIL WAR IN GLOUCESTERSHIRE.

In August, 1642, the great civil war began between Charles I. and Parliament. One of the earliest acts of strife occurred in Circucester a week before the King unfurled his standard; the last battle of the war took place at Stow-on-the-Wold in March, 1646. During those three-and-a-half years Gloucestershire was the scene of constant fighting. At times the Cavaliers, as the King's party were called, were victorious; at other times victory rested with the supporters of Parliament, who were nick-named Roundheads because they wore closely-cropped hair. Cirencester, Bristol, and Gloucester were in turn besieged. Small combats between the rival forces took place in scores of villages. Charles himself, and his dashing nephew, Prince Rupert, were again and again in the county, and were present at the siege of Gloucester.

The war was the outcome of a struggle between the Crown and people which began with the accession of James I. In her speech to her first Parliament Oueen Elizabeth said: "Nothing is so dear to me as 'the love and good-will of my subjects," and she received that love and good-will throughout her long reign. James made no attempt to gain either. Even before he ascended the throne he claimed that a King was free from control by law, and in a speech afterwards he declared that "as it is atheism and blasphemy to dispute what God can do, so it is presumption and a high contempt in a subject to dispute what a King can do, or to say that a King cannot do this or that." During nearly one-half of this twenty-two years' reign he ruled without a Parliament, and when the House of Commons wrote in their Journal that "the liberties of the Parliament are the birthright of the People," he sent for the Journal, and with his own hand tore out the page that contained it. Besides claiming the right to rule Parliament, James also refused

to allow Parliament to interfere with the government of the Church. In 1604, a year after he came to the throne, he summoned a conference of Bishops and Puritan clergy at Hampton Court. The Puritans asked that those who thought it wrong to use certain ceremonies might refrain from doing so without having to leave the national church. James refused their request. "No Bishop, no King," he said, and he told them that he would make them conform or harry them out of the land; and before the year was over three hundred of the Puritan clergy were driven from their livings.

The policy of James was also the policy of his son, Charles I. Within a year after he became King he told the House of Commons that he would grant them liberty of counsel, but not of control. "Remember," he warned them, "that Parliaments are altogether in my power for their calling, sitting, and dissolution: and therefore, as I find the fruits of them to be good or evil, they are to continue or not to be." Under the advice of the Duke of Buckingham, an unprincipled favourite, he endeavoured to raise money by forced loans. Commissioners were appointed to assess the amount which every landowner was bound to lend, and to examine on oath all who refused. Resistance was almost universal. The Sheriff of Gloucestershire writing in December, 1635, told the King that "some men give answers that they have no money, and others say nothing." Many who could pay and would not pay were put into prison, and kept there without being brought to trial; soldiers were billeted on householders without their consent; and the country generally was ruled by martial law. The House of Commons presented to the King what is known as the Petition of Right. They asked "that no man hereafter be compelled to make or yield any gift, loan, benevolence, tax, or such like charge, without common consent by Act of Parliament." that there be no more martial law or enforced billeting, and that no person be kept in prison without trial. For some time Charles refused to consent to the Petition, but at last gave way. In the following year (1629) there was a dispute between the King and the House of Commons concerning certain customs' duties known as Tonnage and Poundage, and Sir John Eliot, the leader of the Opposition in the House, proposed that whoever advised the levy of Tonnage and Poundage without a grant by Parliament, and whoever voluntarily paid those duties, was an enemy to the Kingdom and a betrayer of its liberties. The King's friends protested, and there was a great tumult in the

House, but the resolution was passed.

The King at once dissolved Parliament, and for eleven years no Parliament met again. Charles raised money in various ways without much opposition, until he began to levy what was called Ship-money. The French and the Dutch had strong navies, and Charles thought that England ought to have a navy strong enough to meet both. Instead of summoning Parliament and consulting it on the matter, he, in 1634, called upon all the port towns to furnish him with ships. Only London had got ships large enough, and the King supplied the ships, and called upon the other ports to equip them and supply them with sailors. Bristol and Gloucester were among the ports which had to find money for this purpose. The amount the King received did not satisfy him, and he then called for ship-money from all over the Kingdom. The people everywhere protested that ship-money was a tax, and in accordance with the Petition of Right it could not be levied because it had not been sanctioned by Parliament. Hampden, a Buckinghamshire squire, refused to pay it, and his case came before twelve judges. All except two took the side of the King, but the decision of the two who took Hampden's side, and the arguments of Hampden's lawyers, increased the opposition to the King.

In April, 1640, Charles once more summoned Parliament, but it refused to grant his demands, and after it had sat for only three weeks he dissolved it. In the following November he called another Parliament. Under the leadership of John Pym, a Somersetshire

gentleman, the House of Commons attacked the King through Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, the King's counsellor in all civil and military matters. Strafford was believed to have advised the King to bring an army from Ireland to compel Englishmen to obey his commands, and was tried for treason and sent to the Tower. The Queen tried to get an army to overpower Parliament, and the King tried to get possession of the Tower to liberate Strafford. Parliament at once passed what is called a Bill of Attainder: that is, a law to punish by death any man who is a public enemy. Charles had promised that not a hair of Strafford's head should be touched, but fearing public vengeance on his wife, as well as danger to himself, he gave his assent to the Bill, and Strafford was beheaded.

Besides the struggle between King and Parliament as to who should rule, there was also a bitter struggle on matters of religion. William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, gave great offence to Churchmen by insisting upon changes in ceremony which they regarded as not being in accord with the Protestant faith. The King gave great offence by publishing a Declaration of Sports, which encouraged Sunday amusements, and by ordering the Declaration to be read in Church by all the clergy. In Scotland he aroused great enmity by trying to force a new Prayer Book upon the Scottish nation. An insurrection in Ireland, in which thousands of English people were barbarously murdered, arose out of a struggle by Catholics for freedom from Protestant oppression.

In January, 1642, the struggle between King and Parliament came to a crisis. Taking with him about five hundred armed men, Charles went to the House of Commons to seize five members—Pym and Hampden amongst them—who had been his most active opponents, and whom he accused of treason. They had already left the House, and when asked by the King where they were, the Speaker (Lenthall, who was also Recorder of Gloucester) replied that he had neither eyes to see nor tongue to speak anything save what the

House commanded him. The five members had taken refuge in London, and next day Charles demanded their surrender. The citizens set the King at defiance, and a few days later accompanied the five members in triumph to the House of Commons.

The two parties at once prepared for war. Gloucestershire the first sign of conflict was seen in August, 1642. There was no standing army in England, but every year men mustered for drill, as our militia do now, and were called trained bands. Lord Chandos, of Sudeley Castle, Lord-Lieutenant of Gloucestershire, received a command from the King to enlist men for him, and also a similar command from Parliament to put the trained bands in the county under its control. Chandos took the King's side, and summoned all the gentry of the county to meet him at Cirencester on the 15th August. The people round about flocked into the town, and used such violent threats towards him that it was only with the help of friends that he escaped with his life. Seven days later Charles declared war by raising his standard at Nottingham. From there he went to Shrewsbury, where a large army quickly assembled under his command, with the cavalry under his nephew, Prince Rupert. At Edgehill, near Banbury, the opposing armies met, and on October 23rd, 1642, the first battle of the war was fought.

# CHAPTER XLI.

### FIGHTING ON THE COTSWOLDS.

CHARLES made Oxford his headquarters, and it was not long before fighting took place in the county of Gloucester. Early in January, 1643, about six thousand of the King's men crossed the Cotswolds to Cirencester, and demanded its surrender. The town had already been fortified and

provided with a good garrison, under Colonel Fettiplace, and the answer of the townspeople was that they were resolved to defend with their lives their just rights and liberties and the true Protestant religion. The Royalist troops stayed the night in neighbouring villages, where, it is said, "they did eat up all the provision of victuals and spoil much corn and hay," and next day they departed without firing a shot, but threatened to come again with a larger force and more cannon.

As soon as they had gone, the townspeople began to strengthen the fortifications. The River Churn was a natural defence from the Barton Mill to the Beeches. or nearly half the town; the "city bank" (a Roman rampart) extended from the Beeches to Watermoor: from Watermoor to the Barton Mill there was either a high wall or mounds of stone and earth; and Barton House, Barton Mill, and a mill at the end of Gloucester Street, were strongly fortified. Each main street had a strong gate at its end; barricades, made of wagons, barrows, and chain, were placed at intervals along the streets; and low, dry stone walls which divided the gardens gave shelter to the defenders should the enemy get into the town. The garrison was increased, and the artillery was added to by four guns from Bristol and two from Gloucester.

A fortnight passed without any sign of the enemy's return, and then four hundred or five hundred horse soldiers, joined by troops from Gloucester and Tewkesbury, besieged Sudeley Castle. Lord Chandos, its owner. was away with one of the King's armies, but he had placed a small garrison in the Castle, under the command of Captain Brydges. The attackers protected themselves by rolling beds and woolpacks in front of them as they approached the walls, and cannons were placed against the weakest part of the Castle, under cover of smoke, which the artillerymen caused by burning a quantity of hav and straw. Thinking that resistance would be useless, the garrison surrendered, and the Castle was left in the possession of the soldiers from Cirencester.

Two days later, Prince Rupert, with a large Royalist force of horse and foot, appeared before the Castle, apparently intending to assault it. His troops spent the night amid a heavy snowstorm in the open fields near Hawling, and next morning marched towards Cirencester. Rupert's object then became clear. As a large part of the Cirencester garrison was at Sudeley Castle, he thought he had a good chance to capture the town. On Wednesday, February 1st, he received reinforcements of cavalry and cannon from Oxford, and

next morning the siege of Cirencester began.

Three places on the north and west sides of the town were selected for attack. One was a fortified gate in what is now Spitalgate Lane, a second was the top of Cecily Hill, and a third was a spot near the present G.W.R. Station. The fighting began near the top of Cecily Hill, now the entrance from the town to Earl Bathurst's Park. Step by step the townsmen were driven back from the outer defences, and then the Royalists turned left to the Barton. There they met a hot fire from Barton House and from troops behind a high wall surrounding the Barton House garden. Fighting their way into the garden at the rear, the attackers set fire to Barton House and also the stacks of hav and corn near, and the defenders hastily retreated to a barricaded gate near the bottom of Cecily Hill, with the King's men at their heels. Meantime the other two besieging parties were fighting hard, but without success, the defence being very strong. Finding a way had been made into the town by Cecily Hill, those who were attempting to get in near the present G.W.R. Station gave up the attempt and joined their comrades; and by a combined effort they burst open the barricaded gate at the bottom of the hill and drove the enemy into the market-place. The position of the defenders at the Spitalgate now became very serious, because they were open to an attack from the rear as well as from the front. As soon as they saw this they ran away, leaving the Royalists to enter the town without further fighting. The only strong defences then left in the hands of the

townspeople were the Barton Mill and a mill at the end of Gloucester Street, both of which had been fortified. Seeing that further resistance was dangerous, the soldiers left both mills, and retreated to one of the street barricades, but they were soon driven from there and pursued by horse and foot.

It was twelve o'clock when the first attack was made, and by four o'clock the town was won. Accounts differ as to the number of townsmen killed, one account putting it at three hundred, and another at only twenty. Accounts agree, however, that about twelve hundred were taken prisoners, lodged in the Parish Church for the night, and afterwards taken to Oxford. Two or three weeks later, forty-six of the prisoners signed a very abject petition to the King for mercy, and were allowed to return home; the others remained in imprisonment for some months. A garrison was placed at Cirencester, under the command of Sir Ralph Dutton, and during the following Spring and Summer the town was the head-quarters of a Royalist force.

## CHAPTER XLII.

## FIGHTING IN THE VALE AND FOREST.

On the day after Cirencester was taken (February 2nd, 1643), Prince Rupert, at the head of a large cavalry force, marched through Birdlip to Gloucester, and summoned the city to surrender. The answer he got was a refusal, and without striking a blow he went back to Oxford. A month later he made a bold dash for Bristol. Some of the leading merchants of the city had undertaken to open a gate to him in the night, but the plot was discovered and the leaders captured, and Rupert again joined the King at Oxford. Meantime, Lord Herbert, an ancestor of the present Duke of Beaufort, had raised an army of Welshmen to fight for

the King. They crossed the Wye at Monmouth, and at Coleford, four miles distant, were met by a few Parliamentary troops. These they scattered, and then burnt the market-house. From Coleford they marched to Highnam, a village two miles west of Gloucester, where they entrenched themselves and awaited an opportunity to join a Royalist army on the east side of the Severn in an attack on the city.

While these movements of the King's forces were taking place, Sir William Waller had been sent with an army into Gloucestershire to strengthen the Parliamentary position there. On the 15th March he secured Bristol, then turning into Wiltshire, he captured Malmesbury, and bending back into Gloucestershire he went through the Stroud Valley to Framilode, where he crossed the Severn by boats. From Framilode a march of half-a-dozen miles brought him near Huntley, and within three miles of Lord Herbert's camp. Colonel Massey, Deputy-Governor of Gloucester, was kept acquainted with Waller's movements, and by engaging the Welsh in repeated skirmishes prevented them from knowing what Waller was doing. On the morning of the 24th March, Massey again attacked them, and while defending themselves against him Waller, coming up from Huntley, attacked them in the rear. Seeing that further fighting was hopeless, the Welshmen fled. Some of them made for a ford over the Leadon (at the spot now crossed by Barber's Bridge), where they were caught by Waller's troops, and nearly a hundred were slain.\*

Bristol and Gloucester having been thus secured, Waller assumed the offensive. Retracing his steps, he marched to Newnham, across the Forest of Dean to Ross, and down the Wve Valley to Monmouth and Chepstow, each place in turn being occupied without resistance. While he was so doing, Prince Maurice, a younger brother of Prince Rupert, had been sent from Oxford with Lord Grandison to fall upon his rear.

<sup>\*</sup> A monument at Barber's Bridge, erected by Mr. W. P. Price, M.P. for Gloucester, marks the spot where the skeletons of eighty-six men were found in 1868.

a force of about two thousand men, the Prince formed a line extending from Ross to Newnham, in order to intercept Waller on his return. Waller's rapid movements and constant successes had by this time earned for him the title of "William the Conqueror," and he maintained it in his fight against Prince Maurice. Sending his foot and artillery across the Severn at Aust Ferry, he marched from Chepstow to Newnham. Prince Maurice had taken up his quarters at Littledean, and on Waller's approach the Newnham garrison joined him there. Having entered Newnham, Waller waited three hours without being attacked, and then went on to Gloucester, leaving a small garrison in Newnham. As soon as he had gone, Prince Maurice's cavalry descended Littledean Hill and attacked the garrison.

killing some and taking others prisoners.

This was on the 11th April, 1643. During the following three months there was little fighting in Gloucestershire, but a great deal in other parts of the country. The King had three armies—one at Oxford, one in the North, and one in Cornwall. Essex, with a freshly-equipped army, was ordered to advance upon Oxford, but he shrank from an encounter until too late. In the North the Royalist army, under the Earl of Newcastle, won a great battle near Bradford, and began to march southward. In Cornwall the Parliamentary forces were defeated, and the victors, led by Sir Ralph Hopton, advanced into Somerset. Waller, with a picked force, was despatched by Essex to check their advance, and a battle was fought on Lansdown, a hill overlooking Bath on its northern side. Waller's position was stormed and won, and though Waller had sufficient men and arms left to pursue and harass his enemy through Marshfield and Chippenham to Devizes, a great battle on Roundway Down, a mile north of Devizes, on July 13th, ended in the complete defeat of his whole army. Five days later, Rupert, with a strong force, marched out of Oxford, and, joining the victors of Roundway Down, marched across the southern Cotswolds, and on the 26th July attacked Bristol. On the Somerset side

the attack was repulsed with heavy loss. On the Gloucestershire side Rupert's troops got over the outer defences, and the city at once surrendered.

As the Royalists had steadily gained ground in the North, and the King still held a strong position in Oxford, it was to Gloucestershire and other western counties that Parliament looked for victory if victory was to be won. The surrender of Bristol was therefore a great blow to the Parliamentary cause, and it looked as though an attack on London by the combined armies of the King would end the war. But his armies in the North and West were neither ready nor willing. Hull was held by a Parliamentary garrison, and the Yorkshire men refused to march south and leave their homes unprotected. Plymouth was also garrisoned for Parliament, and the Cornishmen, after helping in the capture of Bristol, refused to go further as long as Plymouth was in the hands of the enemy. A combined attack on London being impossible, Charles had to decide whether or not his own army was strong enough to do it unaided. It might have been if he could have got assistance from Wales. But after their severe defeat at Barber's Bridge the Welsh refused to cross the Severn as long Gloucester remained untaken. The King thereupon resolved that instead of advancing upon London he would beisege Gloucester. If the city could be taken, he would be able to send supplies from Bristol up the Severn to his

garrisons at Worcester and Shrewsbury, with less risk of capture by the enemy than in sending them by road. But Charles saw a much greater advantage in taking Gloucester than the victualling of a couple of garrisons. He saw, and his enemies also saw, that the Welsh forces would join him, and the capture of London would only be a question of time; and if London fell, the war would

soon end in a triumph for the King.

### CHAPTER XLIII.

### THE SIEGE OF GLOUCESTER.

In one of the corridors of the Houses of Parliament is a large picture of an army leaving London to raise the siege of Gloucester. It is a fitting place for such a picture. When the civil war began, Parliament believed that one or two battles would end it in a complete victory over the King. When it had lasted a year Gloucester alone seemed to stand between Charles and his triumphant return to London. On the success or failure of the relieving army depended the fate of Gloucester, and on the fate of Gloucester depended the success or failure of the Parliamentary cause.

It was on the roth August, 1643, that the King, with a portion of his army, arrived outside Gloucester and summoned the city to surrender. Within less than two hours he had his answer in writing, signed by the Governor (Colonel Massey), the Mayor, Aldermen, and a few citizens. "We do keep this city," they said, "according to our oaths and allegiances to and for the use of his Majesty and his royal posterity, and do accordingly conceive ourselves wholly bound to obey the commands of his Majesty." But, the answer concluded, those commands must be "signified by both Houses of Parliament," and as they were not so signified, the citizens were resolved, by God's help, to keep the city.

Both sides at once prepared for fight. A large part of the wall which surrounded the city in Roman times was still standing, and earthworks and a moat added to the city's strength. Outside the fortifications were about 240 houses, most of them on the eastern side of the city. To prevent their use by the Royalist soldiers, these were at once destroyed by the city authorities. The garrison numbered only about 1,500 men, they had but few cannon, and only fifty barrels of gunpowder. The King's army numbered 30,000 men, well supplied with arms and ammunition, and by foraging the country

around the cavalry found them plenty of food. The city might possibly have been captured by assault, but a siege was determined upon, in the belief that it would not last more than ten days and there would be little loss of life.

The Royalist forces spread themselves round the city, and day after day their cannon shot went over its walls. A diary of the siege was kept by the Town Clerk, and some of the entries in it tell with a quaint touch of humour how little damage was done by the cannonade:

The enemy shot divers grenadoes out of their battery into the towne, whereof about 4 fell upon some houses and brake into them, but (by God's Providence) did no harme; and one fell into the street near the Southgate, but a woman coming by with a payle of water, threw the water thereon, and extinguished the phuse thereof, so that it did not break, but was taken up whole. It weighed 60 to.

Saturday, August 19. The enemy began a most furious battery upon both sides of the corner of the city wall next Rignall stile, making above 150 great shot thereupon, wherewith they shrewdly battered the wall, but our earthworks stood firm. By all this shot there was only a man and a maid hurt, and a cannon ball, its force being almost spent, running along the ground, struck down a pigge, which our soldiers ate, and afterwards jeered the enemy therewith.

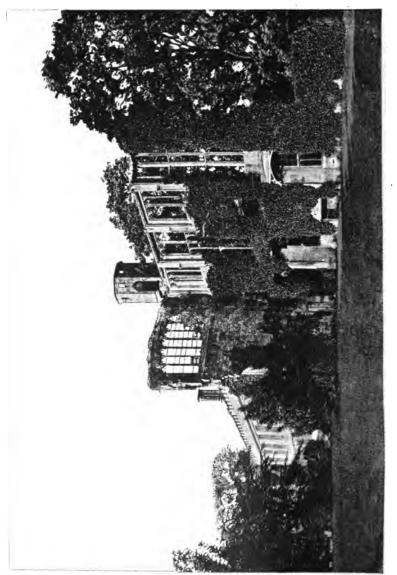
Thursday, August 24. The enemy made divers shots this day with two pieces of ordnance they had newly planted at Llanthony, but did little hurt and killed none. One bullet of about 20 lb. weight came through a chamber of the inn called the Crown, carried a bolster before it into the window, and

there slept upon it.

Friday, August 25. In the evening and night following the enemy shot from their battery at Llanthony above twenty fiery melting hot bullets, some 18 lb., others 22 lb. weight. In the night we perceived them flying through the air like a star shooting; most of them fell into houses and stables where hay was, but, by God's providence, did no hurt at all. One came through three houses and fell into a chamber of Mr. Commelin's, the Apothecary, and being perceived, many pails of water were cast upon it to quench the same, but that little availing it was cast into a cowl of water, where, after a good space, it cooled.

Inside the city there was no thought of surrender. Men, women, and children repaired the damage done to the fortifications. The soldiers did not confine





themselves to defence. Day after day they sallied forth through one of the city gates, attacked the besiegers, doing them, a Royalist historian says, "more hurt than they received," and then hastily retired within their own defences. Towards the end of August the Royalists began mining operations near the Eastgate. The garrison at once sank a counter mine. Once the assailants made a breach in the walls, but Massey, ever on the alert, quickly made the defence too strong for them to get through. But when September came, the citizens began to think the end of the siege was near. The soldiers were worn out with fatigue, their stock of powder was nearly gone, and there were signs that the

besiegers were preparing for a general attack.

Meantime Parliament was striving hard to raise an army in London for the relief of Gloucester. A proclamation by a London committee said that "the city of London and parts adjacent cannot be long in safety if Gloucester be lost," and from nearly every pulpit the citizens were exhorted "to go forth to the help of the Lord against the mighty." An army of 8,000 men was quickly raised, and a large amount of money was cheerfully lent to provide them food, clothing, and pay. Essex took command, and on the 24th August he and his London troops set out on their perilous enterprise. As he marched on fresh reinforcements joined him, until he was at the head of 15,000 soldiers, well clothed and well provided. The direct road to Gloucester was through Oxford. As that city was still held for the King, Essex struck north-west towards Banbury, and then south-west to Chipping Norton, which he reached on and September. Hereabouts he had some skirmishes with some Royalist cavalry. Next day he entered the county of Gloucester at Adlestrop, and near Stow-on-the-Wold he faced a force of horse under Prince Rupert, who had been sent from Gloucester to harass him and hinder his march. Rupert's attacks failed, and on the evening of the 4th September the advance portion of Essex's army had reached the village of Naunton. It was a rough march for men not used to war. "Such straights and hardships," wrote one of the London men, "our citizens formerly knew not; yet the Lord that called us to do the work enabled us to undergo such hardships as He brought us to." Next day they reached the edge of the Cotswolds overlooking Cheltenham, and were within eight miles of Gloucester. Part of the army descended to Prestbury, Southam, and other villages; the rear-guard, with some ordnance and ammunition, were obliged to stay on the hills, and spent a miserable night amid heavy rain, without fire, food, or shelter.

In Gloucester the 5th September had been appointed as a day for fasting and prayer, to be kept by such as could be spared from duty. Between the services the watchmen saw an unusual stir in the King's camp. Soldiers and citizens speedily crowded the ramparts, and had the joy of seeing the huts of the besiegers ablaze and the whole army in retreat. From the hill-top above Cheltenham, Essex saw the same sight. Descending into the valley, he drove a small Royalist force out of Cheltenham, and then distributed his troops for rest in the villages around. On September 8th, amid the joyful sounds of the citizens, he made his triumphant entry into Gloucester. In London the success of Essex was celebrated by public thanksgiving in all the churches; Massey was rewarded by Parliament with a gift of £1,000, and a letter of thanks was sent to him and also to Dennis Wyse, the Mayor of Gloucester. A year later, when the south gate of Gloucester, which had been damaged by the Royalists' shot, was rebuilt, two inscriptions were put upon it: "A city assailed by man, but saved by God"; and "Ever remember the 5th of September, 1643. Give God the glory." The day was kept as a public holiday in the city until the Restoration, and the mottoes remained until the gate was pulled down more than a hundred years afterwards.

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ARMY LEAVING LONDON TO RELIEVE GLOUCESTER.

### CHAPTER XLIV.

### A YEAR OF WARFARE.

THE relief of Gloucester saved Parliament, but was only a temporary defeat for the King. There is a local tradition that on his way from Gloucester, over Painswick Hill, one of his sons asked him when they were going home, and that he replied, "I have no home to go to." Charles, however, was far from being in a despondent mood. Although he had failed to take Gloucester, he hoped yet to take Essex. It was, indeed, for that purpose that he broke up his camp when Essex was in sight. He knew that Essex could not stay long in Gloucester, for his London men would want to return to their homes, and there was work for his regular soldiers elsewhere. His hope was that Essex would try to return to London by the way he came, and that on the open land of the Cotswolds the defeat of his army would be an easy task. In anticipation of this course of events, Charles, on the 7th September, took up his quarters at Sudeley Castle. Three days later he learned that Essex had left Gloucester and had occupied Tewkesbury. For a few days the armies did their best to out-manœuvre one another. Essex appeared to be aiming northwards, and led a part of his force to Uptonon-Severn, and when the King hastened there Essex drew back to Tewkesbury. The Royalist cavalry scoured the neighbourhood, and at Oxenton they attacked the quarters of a Parliamentary officer, slew many of his men, and took several prisoners. night of 15th September, Essex left Tewkesbury under cover of darkness, and before daylight reached Cirencester; which was garrisoned by two regiments of Royalist horse. All except the sentinels were asleep: these were easily overpowered, and the regiments surrendered without a struggle. Quite as important as the capture of the garrison was the capture of forty cartloads of provisions, of which Essex's men were in

sore need. From Cirencester Essex hastened on through Cricklade and Swindon to gain the road through Hungerford and Newbury to London. Hurrying to Newbury, the King reached it before Essex could arrive, and a furious battle was fought. Each side claimed the victory, but Charles moved away in the night, leaving the way open for Essex to continue his march through Reading to London, which he reached exactly a month after he had left it on his momentous march to Gloucester.

Five days after the battle of Newbury an entirely new phase of the war was begun. A treaty, styled the Solemn League and Covenant, was made between England and Scotland, and in the following January a Scotch army crossed the Tweed and joined their English allies. The combination did great damage to the Rovalist cause in the North. Meantime, a great deal of fighting went on in Gloucestershire. Sir William Vavasour was made Commander-in-Chief for Royalists in the counties of Gloucester and Hereford. and in October, 1643, he marched into Tewkesbury. At about the same time two Royalist regiments, consisting of a thousand foot and a hundred horse, with eight guns, landed at Bristol, and plundered the district. Berkeley Castle was held for the King by a Scotch captain; Sudeley Castle by a governor for Lord Chandos; and Sir John Winter commanded a Royalist force in the Forest of Dean. Other bands of soldiers roamed the district between Tewkesbury and Bristol, and kept the people in perpetual alarm. From his stronghold at Gloucester. Massey made several successful sallies. Between October, 1643, and February, 1644, there was fighting west of Gloucester at Hartpury, Highleadon, Huntley, Newent, and Taynton, and south and east of Gloucester at Brookthorpe, Painswick, and Cheltenham. Skirmishes also took place at Berkeley, Marshfield, and Wotton-under-Edge, at Beverstone and Tetbury, and in the Forest of Dean. Massey met with few reverses, and by a series of rapid movements he again and again captured a Royalist garrison.

During March and April, Massey was forced to stay in Gloucester. He was short of money with which to pay his men, short of food for soldiers and citizens, and short of ammunition with which to fight. While he was thus forced to inaction, his enemies hemmed him in on every side. So great was his peril in March that he told Parliament that unless aid speedily reached him he should be forced to deliver up the city to the enemy. Aid was sent him, but it was soon exhausted, and in the middle of April a petition was sent to the House of Commons for further help.

Early in May Massey was strong enough again to take the field. Living at the "White House" at Lydney, which he had strongly fortified, was Sir John Winter, said by one of his foes to be "a plague of the Forest and a goad in the sides of the garrison at Gloucester." It was against Winter that Massey first directed operations. On the 7th May one detachment of his force captured Westbury-on-Severn Court and Church, driving the soldiers out of the church by throwing hand grenades through the windows. Another detachment captured Littledean. Here a foul deed was done by Massey's soldiers. Two of the officers and a few private soldiers took refuge in Littledean Hall, and, seeing that resistance was hopeless, consented to surrender. One of the privates is said to have fired from the window and killed a trooper, which so enraged the attacking party that they killed every man in the house. Next day Massey attacked Newnham. "The Green" had been fortified by the garrison, and the church was also occupied by soldiers. Massey was about to storm "The Green," when the soldiers there fled and took refuge in the church. Massey's men followed, and were about to take them prisoners, when a barrel of gunpowder in the church was fired by a Royalist, said to have been one of Sir John Winter's servants, named Tipper. account of the affair, written by one of Massey's friends, says that this powder-blast blew many out of the church and sorely singed a great number, but killed none. The soldiers, being enraged, fell upon the enemy, and

in the heat of blood slew nearly twenty, and amongst them was Tipper. All the rest had quarter for their lives (save one, Captain Butler, an Irish rebel, who was knocked down by a common soldier), and a hundred

prisoners were taken.

By this time the King's position was getting very serious. His forces in the North were being slowly but surely destroyed by a strong Parliamentary army, with their Scotch allies. A considerable part of his western army, under Prince Maurice, was vainly endeavouring to capture the little port town of Lyme, on the borders of Dorset and Devon. The King's own army at Oxford was threatened by two armies marching against him, one under Essex, the other under Waller. In his extremity Charles recalled Sir Charles Vavasour from Gloucestershire, with the greater part of the troops under his command. Massey was quick to use the advantage thus given him, especially as the departure of Vavasour enabled him to get a large supply of ammu-Colonel Mynn, who was left in charge of the small force remaining in the Severn Valley, went into Herefordshire. Massey followed him, and fixed his head-quarters at Rcss. Hearing that Beverstone Castle had been taken by the Royalists, he sent his horse through Gloucester, and passed his foot over the Severn at Newnham, and within thirty-six hours after leaving Ross Beverstone Castle was re-taken. Without waiting for refreshment, Massey pushed on to Malmesbury, where he kept the garrison alarmed during the whole of a rainy night, and carried the town by assault at sunrise. A week later he captured Tewkesbury. In eighteen days he wrested eight garrisons from the Royalists, with a loss to them of six hundred men, killed, wounded and prisoners.

With Essex and Waller getting near him, the King saw it was impossible to remain at Oxford. On the morning of the 3rd June, by a feigned attack on Abingdon, he drew Waller to its defence, and then, turning sharply back to Oxford, he rode out as soon as it was dark at the head of 3,000 horse and 2,500 foot.

On the next afternoon he was at Burford, and a second night march brought him to Bourton-on-the-Water. His intention was to join Mynn at Tewkesbury, by marching through Evesham and down the Avon Valley past Beckford. At Evesham he learned that Tewkesbury had surrendered to Massey on the previous day, and he therefore pushed on to Worcester. On the day he reached that city (June 6th) a council of war was held at Stow-on-the-Wold, at which both Essex and Waller were present. The result of its deliberations was that Waller was ordered to pursue the King, and Essex to march south to the relief of Lyme. Waller disagreed with the decision, believing that it would be better that Essex and he should follow the King until he was taken and his army defeated. He, however, bowed to the will of the council, and at once started on a march across the Cotswolds into the Severn Valley. Passing Sudeley Castle on his way, he summoned the governer (Sir William Morton) to surrender, and on his refusal attacked it with his artillery. Little damage was done to the walls by the guns, but one shot took off the head of the Castle canoneer, which is said to have "exceedingly daunted the common soldier," and the garrison surrendered.

When he found that only one army was at his heels, Charles hurried back to Oxford in order to collect reinforcements which would enable him to fight Waller with advantage. Waller followed, and was joined by reinforcements, but at Cropredy Bridge, near Banbury, his artillery was captured, and disaffection set in among his troops. Hearing that Waller was going west for help, Charles returned to his old quarters at Evesham. While there he determined to follow up his success over Waller by hurrying in the track of Essex, whom he hoped to crush between his own force and that under Prince Maurice. As he crossed the Cotswolds three troops of cavalry from Gloucester marched after him at a distance and slew and took a few stragglers. Charles reached Exeter a fortnight after leaving Evesham, and there met Prince Maurice. Meanwhile, Essex had turned into Cornwall, where he found himself among a hostile population, and his provisions ran short. The King followed and surrounded him, and though his horse cut their way out, the whole of the infantry surrendered,

and Essex himself only escaped by boat.

While the King's cause was prospering in the South. it was doing badly in the North. Prince Rupert, by a bold dash, reached York, and drove off the besiegers, but in a great battle on Marston Moor, a few miles from York, the Royalists for the first time faced Oliver Cromwell and his brigade of "Ironsides," and 4,000 were slain, and the rest of the army taken prisoners or scattered. Rupert fled south to Bristol, and crossing the Severn to Chepstow he endeavoured to collect a force from South Wales. Massey swooped down upon him from Gloucester, and captured his camp at Beachley, and Sir John Winter met a like fate on the same spot a few days later.

The winter of 1644-5 was a deplorable time in Gloucestershire. Campden and Cirencester on the Cotswolds, Berkeley Castle and Bristol in the Vale, Lydney in the Forest of Dean, were garrisoned for the King, and there were Royalist forces on the borders of the counties of Hereford and Worcester. One and all carefully avoided open battle with their foes, but skirmishes took place in all parts of the county. To add to the horrors of bloodshed, food was scarce, and in the Forest of Dean the ravages of the Royalists drove the people to the mines for refuge.

### CHAPTER XLV.

### THE END OF THE WAR.

The Spring of 1645 found both sides ill prepared for further fighting. The money needed for the purchase of arms and ammunition was not forthcoming, and the

soldiers were irregularly paid, and many of them lived by plunder. Under the influence and guidance of Cromwell, Parliament re-organised its army upon what was termed a New Model. Officers and soldiers were chosen solely with a view to military efficiency, and the regular pay of all was secured by fixed taxation upon the whole country. The foot-soldier received eightpence per day, a penny more than the daily pay of the agricultural labourer. The mounted soldier received two shillings a day, and had to find and feed his horse. Sir Thomas Fairfax was made Commander of the army, and Cromwell became Lieutenant-General, with the command of the cavalry.

The new army started on its campaign in April. On May 7th Charles rode out of Oxford with Prince Rupert and Lord Goring, and their first council of war was held at Stow-on-the-Wold, where Essex and Waller had held a council nearly a year before. It was decided that Charles and Rupert should turn to the North, and Goring to the West. As Charles marched northwards he gathered reinforcements from every available quarter. Passing through Chipping Campden, he drew off the garrison from Campden House, and by Rupert's orders the stately mansion, built by the first Lord Campden at a cost of £30,000, was burnt, lest it should afford a shelter to the enemy. The King had gone as far north as Market Drayton when he heard that Oxford was besieged by Fairfax. Turning south-east he stormed Leicester, and then set out to relieve Oxford. He had reached as far south as Daventry, a few miles west of Northampton, when he heard that the seige of Oxford had been abandoned. Fairfax had, in fact, raised the siege to go in pursuit of the King. A few miles from Daventry he was joined by Cromwell, and on June 14th they overtook the King at Naseby, a small town fourteen miles south of Leicester. A great battle followed, and the King was decisively beaten. His infantry was, almost to a man, destroyed or captured, and the whole of his artillery and arms for 8,000 men passed into the enemy's hands.

Fairfax did not tarry about Naseby. Hurrying to Leicester, he re-took the town, and then set his feet westward. Getting on the Foss Way, he followed it through Moreton-in-Marsh to Northleach, and then bent eastward on his way to Marlborough. When he reached Lechlade his army was in much distress. Horses and arms were wanting, and desertions had been frequent. An appeal to Parliament gave him the help he wanted, and he marched south and attacked and defeated Goring. Then turning north, he, on the 3rd September, attacked Bristol, which was held by Prince Rupert. For a long time the garrison offered a stout defence, but honourable terms of surrender were offered them, and accepted. Berkeley Castle was now the only considerable fortress in Gloucestershire that contained a royal garrion, and on the 23rd September a force sent by Fairfax summoned it to surrender. Sir Charles Lucas, the Governor, replied that he would eat horse-flesh before he would yield, and man's flesh when that was done. The assailants stormed the outworks and planted their ordnance upon them to bombard the Castle, and then the Governor surrendered.

In March, 1846. Fairfax was master of the West, Cromwell had reduced the South, and the royal army in the North had been defeated and scattered. The King, who was still at Oxford, made one more effort to get together an army, and for that purpose sent Sir Jacob Astley and Sir Charles Lucas to collect all the forces that could be spared from the Royalist garrisons in the surrounding district. About 3,000 men and horse assembled under Astley's command at Bridgnorth, and set out for Oxford. Before he left Bridgnorth news of his doings had reached the Parliamentary leaders, and Colonel Morgan from Gloucester, Colonel Birch from Hereford, and Sir William Brereton, who was in the Midlands, were ordered to join their forces and give him battle. Morgan and Birch met at Gloucester, and marched to Evesham, there to meet Brereton. Before Brereton could join them Astley reached the Avon, and found Morgan on the opposite bank. Some days

were spent in marching to and fro, Astley trying to cross the river, and Morgan frustrating him at every point. At last Morgan tired of these tactics, and withdrew to Chipping Campden. Next day (20th March, 1646.) Astley's force crossed the river at Bidford, three miles from Evesham. Morgan watched them cross the vale, and as they climbed Broadway Hill he sent small parties to lightly attack them, keeping his main body back to await Brereton's help. As soon as Brereton was known to be near, Morgan started in pursuit of his enemy, being anxious to come to close quarters as quickly as possible, as he had received information that Astley was to be joined seven miles beyond Stow-on-the-Wold by some of the King's horse from Oxford. Astlev's aim was to take his force intact to Oxford, but finding he could not avoid a fight he, during the night, placed his forces in battle array on some unenclosed land between Donnington and Stow, and awaited his foes.

At daylight the battle began. Morgan himself commanded the central division, the right wing consisted of 800 horse led by Brereton, and the left wing was under Colonel Birch. Altogether, the Parliamentary force numbered about the same as Astley's, viz., 3,000 men and horse. The battle cry of the Royalists was, "Patrick and George"; the Parliamentary watchword was "God be our Guide." Birch's men on the left wing gave way on the first charge, and after rallying were again driven back. Brereton's horse, on the right wing, charged the horse and foot on Astley's left, and broke their ranks, and then, by a combined effort. Morgan, Birch and Brereton routed the whole of Astley's force, and pursued them into Stow. A great number were slain, either in the pursuit or in the town, many were wounded, and 1,600 or 1,700 prisoners, including Astley and nearly all his Staff, were taken, thrust into the church, and afterwards taken to Gloucester. Of the whole of Astley's force not more than three hundred escaped, and nearly a third of these were captured by a troop of Parliamentary horse, under Colonel Fleetwood, which arrived after the fighting was over.

The battle at Stow sextled the fate of the King. He had but to choose to whom he would surrender. He chose the Scots, believing they would protect him. They surrendered him to the English Parliament and he was put into prison. Then followed two years of negotiation between the King and Parliament and the Army as to the terms upon which Charles might be restored to the throne. No agreement could be arrived at, and in 1648 Charles stirred up a fresh civil war and a Scottish invasion. The Welsh took the side of the King, and Cromwell was despatched into Wales. On May 8th he reviewed his forces at Glouceser, telling his men that he had oftentimes ventured his life with them, and they with him, "against the common enemy of this Kingdom," and that if they would follow him in this cause he was ready to live and die with them. Chepstow Castle surrendered a few days later, and the Welsh insurrection was quickly suppressed. Returning to Gloucester,\* Cromwell marched northwards, and utterly routed the Royalist force there, and a Royal rising in the eastern counties was put down by Fairfax.

At the end of August, a few weeks after it began, the second civil war was at an end. In December the House of Commons declared for a reconciliation with the King, but a body of soldiers, under the command of Colonel Pride, expelled all members who took the King's side. In January the House appointed a special High Court of Justice, which sentenced the King to death, and on the 30th January, 1649, he was beheaded on a scaffold in front of his own palace at Whitehall.

<sup>\*</sup> Cromwell and his staff dined with the Mayor and Corporation of Gloucester on their way to and from South Wales, For each dinner the Corporation paid 10/6 for wine, £1 for sweetmeats, and 2/- for a pound of sugar; and at the first dinner 1/- was paid for "fower limonds."

### CHAPTER XLVI.

## ELEVEN YEARS WITHOUT A KING.

WHEN Sir Jacob Astley was taken captive at Stow-onthe-Wold he said to his captors as they stood around: "You have done your work now, and may go to play, unless you fall out among yourselves." It was a true insight into what was to follow. The supporters of Parliament "fell out" before the King ended his life on the scaffold, and still more during the years that followed. The House of Commons, contemptuously called the "Rump Parliament," was by "Pride's Purge" reduced to about a hundred members, and of these the average attendance was little more than fifty. Yet it passed an Act declaring England to be a Commonwealth, without a King or House of Lords. Cromwell urged the election of a new Parliament, with securities that the Commonwealth should be maintained. The House of Commons wanted members then sitting to continue in the next Parliament without fresh election, and to be formed into a committee with power to exclude any new member to whom they objected. A party in the Army, known as Levellers, rose in revolt against the Commons, and the mutineers came as near to Gloucestershire as the town of Burford, where the revolt was stamped out. In April, 1653, Cromwell went to the House with 300 soldiers, whom he left outside as a guard. He told his fellow members that they had done well in the past, but it was time for them to give place to better men. Stamping his foot on the floor as a sign for his soldiers to enter, he bade them clear the House. Lifting the mace from the table, he asked, "What shall we do with this bauble?" and answering the question himself he said, "Take it away!" All the members were turned out and the door locked, and the Parliament-known as the Long Parliament, for it had sat from 1640 to 1653 -came to an end.

The Parliament that followed was not an elected body, but an assembly of 160 men chosen by Cromwell and the officers of the Army from lists of men certified to be "faithful, God-fearing, and hating covetousness." Three men were chosen from the county of Gloucester-Captain John Crofts, of Nether Swell, Captain William Neast, of Twyning, and Robert Holmes, whose residence is unknown. Crofts and Neast had been officers in the Parliamentary army; Holmes was one of the Assessment Commissioners for the county. No members were appointed for cities or boroughs. From the quaint name of one of its members—Praise-God Barebone—this Parliament was nicknamed the Barebones Parliament. It speedily showed that it was unfit to govern. Cromwell said afterwards that nothing was in the heads of its members but "overturn, overturn." After sitting for only five months, it dissolved itself and placed supreme authority in the hands of Cromwell. It was now evident that the only satisfactory method of government was the old method of government by a Parliament elected by the people. It was also evident that a new basis of representation was required. Accordingly it was decided that the new House should consist of 460 members elected by the counties and large towns, and that the electors should be men possessed of property worth at least £200.

The election took place in the autumn of 1654. Five members were elected for the county of Gloucester, two for Bristol, two for Gloucester, one for Cirencester, and one for Tewkesbury. The five county members were the Hon. George Berkeley, of Berkeley Castle; Christopher Guise, of Elmore, near Gloucester, afterwards the first baronet in the Guise family; John Howe, a landowner at Compton Abdale; Silvanus Wood, barrister, of Brookthorpe, near Gloucester; and Matthew Hale, also a barrister, of Alderley, near Wotton-under-Edge. Hale, afterwards known as "the upright judge," had assisted in the defence of Charles upon his trial, but his prudence and integrity had won for him the confidence of all parties. So popular was he with his

Gloucestershire friends that some of them paid the expenses of his election, and the Earl of Berkeley girt him with his own sword. The members for Bristol were Robert Aldworth, son of a former member, and Miles Jackson, Sheriff of the city. The members elected for Gloucester were Thomas Pury, an Alderman, who as a captain had assisted in the defence of the city during the siege, and William Lenthall, who was Speaker of the Long Parliament. Lenthall was also elected one of the members for Oxfordshire, and preferred to sit for that county, and Luke Nourse, a Sheriff, was elected in his place for the city of Gloucester. The member elected for Tewkesbury was Sir Ashley Cooyer, who was afterwards created first Earl of Shaftesbury.

"Few Parliaments," says Green, the historian, "have ever been more memorable, or more truly representative of the English people, than the Parliament of 1654. It was the first Parliament in our history where members from Scotland and Ireland sat side by side with those from England, as they sit in the Parliament of to-day. It had a better title to the name of a 'free Parliament' than any which had sat before." One of the first things it did was to make Cromwell Protector, with many of the duties which had formerly devolved on the King. It also appointed a Council of State, without which the Protector could not act in any matter of national importance. So far Parliament and Cromwell agreed. Parliament then claimed that the constitution might be changed whenever it and the Protector agreed to change it. Cromwell at once objected. saw that it would be very difficult for him to refuse his consent to anything on which Parliament insisted, and that it would be possible for Parliament to sweep away the Protectorate and govern the country without any personal control. He wanted an elected Parliament, but to prevent it having too much power he also wanted a Protector to have some control over it. He therefore announced that no member would be suffered to enter Parliament without signing an engagement that the Government should consist of a single person and

a Parliament. Three-fourths of the members signed the engagement, but they disagreed with Cromwell on other matters, and he dissolved Parliament after it had sat for only four months.

For nearly two years Cromwell governed the country without a Parliament. But the people were quite as unwilling to be ruled by an uncontrolled Protector as by an uncontrolled King, and everywhere they became discontented. Cromwell used the Army to maintain his power. He divided England into military districts, over each of which he set a major-general, supported by the militia, with despotic powers for maintaining order. In the Autumn of 1566 another Parliament was elected. Cromwell excluded from it about a hundred members who were likely to oppose him, but the remainder demanded a legal mode of government instead of martial law. Cromwell defended the major-generals, but agreed to withdraw them. Having restored the old power of the law, Parliament next tried to restore the Kingship. A proposal was carried by a great majority that Cromwell should be King. Cromwell refused. He was then pressed to take the duties of Kingship, with the title of Lord Protector instead of King. To this he agreed, and on June 26, 1657, in Westminster Hall, with a ceremony as stately and solemn as a coronation, he became King of England in all but name.

In Gloucestershire, as throughout the country, there were great rejoicings when Cromwell was proclaimed Protector. In the city of Gloucester a platform, draped with red cloth, was erected near the Cross, and the proclamation was read from it in the presence of the Mayor and Corporation and a great crowd of citizens. After the ceremony there was general feasting, the church bells rang merry peals, and the day closed with bonfires. All the chief courts of Europe sent their congratulations to the new sovereign, and some of them were soon made to feel and bow to his power. The Duke of Savoy's soldiers committed terrible outrages among the Protestants of the valleys

of Piedmont because they refused to renounce their religion. Cromwell threatened to send English soldiers. and the outrages ceased, and England raised £100,000 for the unhappy people. The great object of Cromwell's foreign policy was to unite the Protestant States, with Britain at their head, in a defensive league against the Church of Rome, and to a large extent he succeeded in doing so. He struggled hard for freedom for Englishmen The Mediterranean had been full of pirates, who again and again preyed upon English vessels. Cromwell's men-of-war swept away the pirates, and the sovereigns of States bordering on the Mediterranean were compelled to pay for the injuries done to English commerce and liberty. An English fleet under Admiral Blake took Jamaica from the Spaniards, and destroyed a great Spanish fleet off Teneriffe. "By such means as these," said Cromwell, "we shall make the name of Englishmen as great as that of Roman was in Rome's most palmy days." And never had the fame of England stood higher than it did soon after Cromwell was proclaimed Protector.

The Act which made Cromwell Protector also made Parliament again consist of two Houses, the members of the upper House being named by the Protector. When Cromwell's second Parliament met for a second session, in January, 1658, the House of Commons had lost a large number of Cromwell's supporters, who had been removed to the other House, and the hundred members who had been excluded were again admitted. agreements at once began. Cromwell was attacked for creating a House which he encouraged to take the title of House of Lords, the money necessary to carry on the government of the country was not voted, and the pav of the army got much in arrear. Royalist revolts also broke out in various parts of the country. Only a month before Parliament met. Cromwell wrote to the Gloucester City Council stating that he had information that the Cavaliers were planning a surprise in that city, and he authorised the Council to raise the militia and promised to send down a troop of horse. The strife in

the House of Commons continued for a fortnight, and then Cromwell went to Westminster and summoned the two Houses to his presence. "I do dissolve this Parliament," he said in ending a speech of angry and solemn rebuke; "let God be judge between you and me."

These were the last words Cromwell spoke to a Parliament. He was stricken with a fatal illness when he spoke them. As he neared the end, the religious spirit which had prompted him to go to war and which coloured his despatches to soldiers and letters to friends, again and again found expression. On the night of Thursday, September 2nd, 1658, he was heard to murmur, "I would be willing to live, to be further serviceable to God and His people, but my work is done. Yet God will be with His people." Next day he quietly breathed his last.

Richard Cromwell succeeded his father as Protector. In eight months he tired of his work and went into private life. The government of the country now got into a state of chaos, and the only way out was through a new Parliament. The elections for it took place in January, 1659. The old system of representation was adopted, under which two members (instead of five) were elected for the county of Gloucester, two (as before) for Bristol, two (instead of one) for Cirencester, two (as before) for Gloucester, and two (instead of one) for Tewkesbury. The new Parliament wanted to rule the army, and the army wanted to rule Parliament. Richard took the side of Parliament. For that reason the soldiers turned against him, but they also saw that Richard was far too weak a man to take the place of his father. They asked that Fleetwood, who had married Oliver Cromwell's daughter, should be their commander, but that he should be entirely independent of the Protector. Richard agreed to Fleetwood's appointment, but insisted upon his being under the control of himself and Parliament. The army was, however, too strong to be over-ruled, and in April it forced Richard to dissolve Parliament. A month later Richard gave up his office, and the Protectorate came to an end.

#### CHAPTER XLVII.

## "SHICK-SHACK" DAY.

By the children of Gloucestershire the 29th May is known as "Shick-Shack Day." On that day a sprig of oak or an oak apple is commonly worn, and the day gets its name from the fact that "shick-shack" is the local name for oak. The day is known in history as Restoration Day. It was on the 20th May, 1660, that Charles II. was restored to the throne from which he had been kept during the Commonwealth. Among the Acts passed by Parliament immediately after was one "that in all succeeding ages the 20th of May be celebrated in every church and chapel in England, and the dominions thereof, by rendering thanks to God for the King's peaceable restoration to actual possession and exercise of his legal authority over his subjects," &c. A spray of oak was adopted as the badge to be worn on the day because Charles I, saved himself from his pursuers after the battle of Worcester by hiding in a bushy oak in a Shropshire forest. The law directing a service to be held on Restoration Day was abolished in 1859, but a service is still held in a few churches, and, in rural districts especially, the oak badge is still worn.

The Restoration of the monarchy was inevitable for some time before the Commonwealth came to an end. When Richard Cromwell gave up his office as Protector, the government of the country passed into the hands of the forty-two members of the Long Parliament who claimed that they alone were the representatives of the people. In the following year they called in the members who in 1648 had been expelled for taking the side of the King, and it was then resolved that a new Parliament should be elected.

The election took place in April, 1660, and in Gloucestershire, as throughout the Kingdom, it was one of the most important and most exciting elections that ever took place. The question before the electors was, "King or no King?" Nearly all the members elected

in this county were in favour of a king. The two county members were Sir Matthew Hale (who afterwards took an active part in support of Charles II.), and Edward Stephens, of Little Sodbury. Bristol elected Ald. John Knight (a strong Royalist), and John Stephens, of Upper Lypiatt. The members for Cirencester were Thomas Master, of the Abbey, and Henry Powle, of Williamstrip Park, both supporters of the monarchy. So, too, were the representatives of Tewkesbury, the Hon. Henry Capel (whose father was beheaded for his lovalty to Charles I.), and Richard Dowdeswell, who had helped in the defence of Tewkesbury when it was attacked by a Parliamentary army during the war. Even Colonel Massey, the gallant defender of Gloucester, had joined the Royalist cause, and the citizens elected him as one of their members, the other being James Stephens, a former Mayor.

On the 25th April Parliament met. A week later it received from Charles, who was then at Breda, a town in Holland, a Declaration setting forth the principles on which he promised to rule England. The House of Lords and the House of Commons welcomed the Declaration with expressions of joyful thanks, and the Speaker of the House of Commons, addressing the messenger from Charles, said: "Our bells and our bonfires have already begun the proclamation of his Majesty's goodness and of our joys. We have told the people that our King, the glory of England, is coming home again, and they have resounded it back again in our ears that they are ready and their hearts are open to receive him; both Parliament and people have cried aloud in their prayers to the King of Kings, 'Long live King Charles the Second!""

For six months Parliament was busily engaged. To show its loyalty to the new King, thirteen of the judges who had tried the late King were executed; twenty others who had taken the side of Parliament were declared incapable of holding office under the State; a large number of supporters of the Commonwealth were punished with imprisonment and loss of goods; and

the bodies of Cromwell and two of his prominent supporters were taken from their graves and hung on gibbets in London. The annual grant to the King was fixed at £1,200,000. In order to raise this sum Parliament abolished an old source of royal income and introduced a new form of taxation which has lasted to this day. The old system was known as purveyance. Wherever the King and his court went the people in the district were called upon to provide them with provisions and labour, either free of cost or for a very small payment. One writer tells us that "every old woman trembled for her poultry, and the archbishop in his palace trembled for his household and stud, until the King had gone by. In the midst of ploughing or harvest the husbandman was liable to be called on to work and to lend his horses for the service of the court or of any servant of the King who had sufficient personal influence to enable him to use the king's name." The system of purveyance also extended to whole counties. Sheriff of Gloucestershire, for instance, was liable to be called upon to supply from the county beef, pork and corn for a royal festival, or for a meeting of Parliament, or for the army. In times of civil war purveyance was a tremendous burden, as the people of this county found to their cost from the siege of Circucester to the battle at Stow-on-the-Wold. In the arrangements made for the new King's income purveyance was abolished. With it, too, went other antiquated rights of the Crown which owners of land had found irksome and costly. To replace the sources of revenue thus abandoned, it was at first proposed to put a tax on land. Afterwards it was decided to raise the necessary money by excise duties. The Long Parliament had imposed taxes upon beer, cider and perry, and this taxation was now extended to other kinds of intoxicating drink.

The members for Gloucestershire joined with their fellow members of the House of Commons in the settlement of the relations between the nation and the Crown. One of them (Sir Matthew Hale) also tried to effect a settlement of the Church. In his proclamation from

Breda, Charles had promised that "no man shall be disquieted or called in question for differences of opinion in matters of religion, which do not disturb the peace of the Kingdom." Sir Matthew Hale introduced a Bill to turn the King's promise into law, but the House of Commons wanted a conference on Church matters and the Bill was withdrawn. In the settlement of questions affecting Church property the city of Gloucester had a special interest. During the Commonwealth the revenues of the Cathedral had been taken from it and given to the Mayor and Corporation, who supplied a preacher to conduct services in accordance with a new form of worship drawn up by the Commonwealth Parliament.\* One of the first acts of the new Parliament was to restore to all churches the property which had been taken from them, and the Mayor and Corporation were compelled to give back the property they had taken from the Bishop of Gloucester and the Cathedral clergy.

## CHAPTER XLVIII.

## PARLIAMENT OPPOSED TO CROWN.

AFTER it had lasted for a year, Parliament was dissolved. The new Parliament was elected in April, 1661, and did not come to an end until January, 1679, thus sitting for more than seventeen years. The two members elected for the county of Gloucester were John Grubham Howe, who had been M.P. for the county in the last Parliament of the Commonwealth, and Sir Baynham Throckmorton, of Clearwell, who had been a Royalist Colonel during the Civil War. The members for Bristol were Alderman Knight (re-elected) and Sir Humphrey Hooke. For Gloucester, Colonel Massey was again

<sup>\*</sup> The religious story of the Commonwealth and Restoration is dealt with in another chapter.

elected (but as Sir Edwin Massey, he having been knighted by Charles II.), and his colleague was Evan Seys, Recorder of the city. Cirencester changed its representatives. One of its new members was a Scotch earl, the Earl of Newburgh, a strong Royalist; the other was John George, of Cirencester, who was member at the time of the siege, helped to defend the town and was taken prisoner, and was one of the members expelled by the Long Parliament because he took the side of the King. Tewkesbury re-elected its two members, the Hon. Henry Capel and Richard Dowdeswell, both active Royalists.

One great aim of the new Parliament was to maintain its own rights while it recognised the rights of the Crown. Co-operation between Charles and Parliament was, however, soon found to be very difficult. King do mind nothing but pleasures, and hates the very sight or thoughts of business," wrote Samuel Pepys,\* who was Secretary to the Admiralty during the whole of his reign. But Charles had far worse faults than a love of pleasure and a hatred of business. He was selfish, unprincipled and immoral. His first Chancellor, the Earl of Clarendon, served him loyally for seven years, and was dismissed from office because he condemned the King's wicked life. After Clarendon's dismissal Charles gathered about him a ministry of unprincipled men, the initials of whose names form the word "Cabal," the name under which the ministry became known. When the Cabal ministry came to an end, the Earl of Danby became the King's chief Minister. Danby's sympathies were with Parliament, but as servant of the

<sup>\*</sup> Pepys kept a diary, in which for ten years he set down his day's doings. Here is an extract from his diary for the 20th lune 1662.—

June, 1662:—

"Drew up the agreement between the King and Sir John Winter about the Forrest of Deane; and, having done it, he came himself, and we read it, and both liked it well. That done, I turned to the Forrest of Dene, in Speede's maps, and there he showed me how it lies; and the Lea-bayly, with the great charge of carrying it [coal] to Lydney, and many other things worth my knowing; and I do perceive that I am very short in my business by not knowing many times the geographical part of my business."

King he felt bound to carry out his master's orders, even though they were opposed to his own convictions and the wishes of Parliament. Twice during the reign of Charles, England went to war with the Dutch. The first war ended in victory for England. In the second the English fleet was defeated, and the Dutch fleet sailed up the Thames as far as Gravesend and burnt three men-of-war anchored in the river. The defeat naturally caused regret, and the regret was turned to bitter anger by the belief that money voted by Parliament for the fleet had been used by Charles for his own luxury.

Besides maintaining its own rights, Parliament also maintained the supremacy of the Church. By a series of laws passed in the years 1661 to 1665 it expelled Dissenters from the Church and excluded them from power in civic affairs. While these laws were being passed, Charles issued a declaration in favour of toleration of all forms of religion, and asked Parliament to pass a law giving freedom to those who "modestly and without scandal perform their devotions in their own way." Parliament refused, partly because it hated the Dissenters, partly because it feared that the King's desire was to assist the Roman Catholics. In 1673 the King, without consulting Parliament, issued what was termed a Declaration of Indulgence, which gave liberty of public worship to all save Roman Catholics, who were allowed to practise their religion only in private In the following year Charles had to appeal to the House of Commons for money for the Dutch war. The answer of the House was that no money would be supplied until the Declaration of Indulgence was with-The army and navy were in the hands of Catholics, and there was a general suspicion that the war and the Declaration were parts of a plot by the King to get more power for himself and give more power to the Catholics. Charles at once withdrew the Declaration. As soon as he had done so, Parliament passed a Test Act, which prevented Roman Catholics as well as Dissenters from holding any office in the State. As a result, the King's brother, the Duke of York (who was

Lord High Admiral), the Lord Treasurer, one of the Secretaries of State, and hundreds of others in the army and civil services owned to being Catholics and resigned their posts. The resignations increased the nation's distrust of the King. Even his Chancellor confessed that "not a person in the world, man or woman, dares rely upon him, or put any confidence in his word or friendship."

In the second war with the Dutch, England had the help of France. After the war was over, it became clear that England had most to fear from the King of France. He was the most powerful monarch in Europe; he was also a strong Catholic, and English Protestants. were afraid that his alliance with England might be injurious to the Protestant faith. At last the national fear became so great that Parliament asked Charles to join a Continental alliance against France. His reply to a friend was to throw his handkerchief into the air and exclaim, "I care just that for Parliament." explanation of the King's conduct was revealed later. He had become a Catholic, and wished to establish the Catholic religion in England, but kept his conversion secret from fear of violent opposition by Parliament and the people. Learning that the King of France purposed to make war against the Dutch, Charles had made a treaty with him which was secretly signed at Dover: Charles agreed that 6,000 soldiers should join the French army in a war against Holland or Spain; the French King agreed to give Charles £200,000 a year while the war lasted, and to lend him 6,000 French troops should there be any disturbance in England when he announced that he had joined the Roman Catholic Church. The King's conversion and the Treaty of Dover were still secrets when Charles was asked to join a Continental alliance against France. For seven months he did not assent or refuse. Then he declared himself ready for war, and a few weeks later 3,000 English soldiers landed on the Continent. Meantime, Charles had made a bargain with the French King by which English soldiers were not to be used against the French,

and the French King was to pay Charles a considerable amount of money to make him independent of Parliament. The English soldiers were brought back without having struck a blow, and the other part of the army that had been raised never left home.

Although the bargain between Charles and the King of France was a secret, the action of Charles made people suspect that there was a plot between the two Kings against English freedom and English religion. As often happens in times of great national excitement, wild stories got about. One was invented by an impostor named Titus Oates, who had been expelled from a Roman Catholic institution for misconduct. There was, he said, a great "Popish plot" to murder Charles, to set his brother James (a Catholic) on the throne, and to keep him there with the help of a French army. statements he repeated on oath before a London magis-Next morning the magistrate was found murdered, and the murder was at once said to be part of the plot. Soon afterwards another impostor named Bedloe announced a Catholic plot for a general massacre of the Protestants by French soldiers. His story quickly spread from one end of the country to the other. Even in Gloucestershire nervous people went quaking to bed, fearing that before daylight they might feel a Frenchman's knife. The frenzy of the people found expression in Parliament. A law was passed excluding Catholics from a seat in either House, a law which remained in force for a century and a half. A letter to the King of France, begging for money for Charles, had been written by Coleman, the Secretary of the Duchess of York, wife of the King's brother, and Coleman was tried and executed. Large numbers of the leading English Roman Catholics were charged with taking part in the conspiracy. The evidence against them was usually a tissue of lies, but judges and juries were mad with excitement, and hundreds of innocent men died on the scaffold. When the alarm was wearing out, it was found that Oates and Bedloe were a pair of villains, and that their tales of a Popish plot were their own

wicked inventions. But although their plot was false, Parliament soon had evidence of another plot that was true. The English Ambassador at Paris placed before the House of Commons a letter to the King of France, written by the English Prime Minister (the Earl of Danby) and signed by Charles himself, demanding payment for services to France.

The bargain between Charles and the King of France, hitherto secret, thus came out. The House of Commons was furious. Danby was charged with high treason, under the impression that he had approved the letter he had written. But he had not approved it, and had only carried out the King's order in writing it. The fury of the House frightened the King. He knew that if Danby was tried the trial would reveal his secret dealings with the French King. To save himself and Danby he dissolved Parliament, and preparations were at once made for another General Election.

# CHAPTER XLIX.

# AN UNPOPULAR KING.

THE elections took place in February, 1679, amidst a whirl of excitement. The question before the electors was not "King or no King?" as in 1660, but "Will we have a Catholic King?" The county of Gloucester elected two new members—Sir John Guise, of Elmore, and Sir Ralph Dutton, of Sherborne. Bristol re-elected its old members, but one of them (Sir Robert Case) had sat in Parliament for only a year, he having taken the place of Sir Humphrey Hooke, who had died. The city of Gloucester again returned Evan Seys, its Recorder, and with him it elected William Cooke, of Highnam, who rebuilt Highnam Court after it had been destroyed by the Royalists. For Cirencester the members were Sir

Robert Atkyns, of Sapperton, author of the first history of Gloucestershire, and Henry Powle, of Williamstrip, who had sat for Cirencester in the first Parliament called by Charles II., was not elected in 1661 for the second Parliament, but was elected to it in 1671, on the death of the Earl of Newburgh. The members for Tewkesbury were the Hon. Henry Capel, who was re-elected, and Sir Francis Russell, of Strensham, Worcestershire, who in 1673 had taken the seat vacated by the death of Richard Dowdeswell.

When Parliament met in March, 1679, it was found that only about thirty members took the side of the King. The charge of treason made against Danby was renewed, upon which Danby produced a free pardon from Charles. Parliament resented the King's action, but ultimately Danby was sent to the Tower, and the charge dropped. By the advice of Sir William Temple, Charles tried a new experiment in government. A Privy Council, consisting of thirty members, was appointed, by whose advice the King was always to be guided. Gloucestershire was honoured in the formation of the Council, one of its members being Henry Powle, M.P. for Cirencester, and another the Hon. Henry Capel, M.P. for Tewkesbury. Mr. Capel was also appointed First Lord of the Admiralty.

As soon as Parliament settled down to business, the great questions upon which the elections had been fought came to the front. The heir to the throne was the King's brother, James, Duke of York, a Roman Catholic. Charles offered to place the strongest restrictions upon the powers of a Catholic king if his brother's title to the throne was accepted. The House of Commons declined the offer. It held that a Protestant country must be ruled by a Protestant King, and by a large majority it passed a Bill to exclude the Duke of York from the throne. Before the Bill could be considered by the House of Lords the King dissolved Parliament.

A second General Election within three months one in February and another in May—naturally caused great excitement in the country. The Exclusion Bill was the only question before the electors. The Members for the county of Gloucester, for Bristol, for Cirencester, and for Tewkesbury were re-elected. At Gloucester there was one change, Sir Charles Berkelev taking the seat of Mr. Cooke. The new House of Commons was more hostile to the King than was the previous one. Its leader was the Earl of Shaftesbury, President of the Privy Council, which still included two Gloucestershire Members—Henry Powle and Henry Capel. Parliament should have met as soon as the elections were over. but the King declined to summon it. stirred up an agitation against Charles, and petitions for the assembly of Parliament went up from every county. The King's party set up a counter agitation, and addresses were sent to Charles expressing abhorrence at the attempt to force his will. The two parties were known as "Petitioners" and "Abhorrers." A little later the petitioners were called Whigs and the abhorrers Tories, names afterwards given to the two great political parties of the State. In October, 1680, fourteen months after the elections had taken place, the King gave way, and summoned Parliament. The House of Commons at once passed the Exclusion Bill: the House of Lords rejected it. Wild rumours of a Catholic plot again spread, and Lord Stafford, a leader of the Catholic party, was executed on a false charge of a design to murder the King. In January, 1681, Charles dissolved Parliament, after it had sat for only three months.

Another General Election followed, the third within two years. The county Members for Gloucestershire were re-elected. Sir Robert Cann, one of the Members for Bristol, had been expelled from the House of Commons for publicly declaring that there was no Catholic plot, and did not seek re-election, nor did his colleague, Sir John Knight. The Members elected in their place were Sir Richard Hart, Mayor of Bristol, and Alderman Thomas Earle. Gloucester elected two men connected with the families of the Duke of Beaufort and Earl of Berkeley. Cirencester and Tewkesbury

made no change. The new House of Commons, which met at Oxford in March, 1681, strongly favoured the exclusion of the Duke of York from the throne, and after it had sat for a week the King dissolved it.

For four years no Parliament met. Meantime the stories about Popish plots were proved to be false, and Shaftesbury fled the country to escape trial for treason. A combination amongst the Whigs against the King was brought to light, and Lord Russell and Algernon Sydney, two members of the combination, were executed. By another secret treaty with the French King, Charles received enough money from France to make him independent of Parliament. But the nation was tired of the constant struggle with the King, and had got over its panic about Catholic plots; and there was a growing fear that the exclusion of James from the throne might bring on another civil war. In February, 1685, Charles was struck down by an apoplectic stroke. Three days later he died, and on his death-bed received the sacraments of the Roman Catholic Church.

# CHAPTER L.

# A PEACEFUL REVOLUTION.

CHARLES II. was followed by his brother, the Duke of York, who was crowned as James II. A General Election which took place three months later (March, 1685) showed that the desire to exclude him from the throne had vanished. Everywhere, indeed, the King's accession was hailed with an outburst of loyalty. In Gloucestershire the change of opinion was marked by changes in the representation. For the county the two Whig Members were replaced by two Tories—the Marquis of Worcester and Sir Robert Atkyns. Bristol elected two new men. At Gloucester the old Members

also gave place to new. At Cirencester the Whig Member was defeated. Tewkesbury elected a Whig and a Tory. In the south-western counties the Duke of Monmouth raised an army to support his claim to the throne, and he marched towards Bristol with the intention of occupying it against the King. The Marquis of Worcester helped to drive him back, and in a fight on Sedgemoor his force was killed or scattered, and though he escaped, he was afterwards captured and executed without trial. The revolt was followed by terrible cruelties. Chief Justice Jeffreys was sent to the southwestern counties to hold what afterwards became known as the Bloody Assizes. In Somerset and Dorset 350 rebels were hanged, more than 800 were sent to the West Indies to work as slaves, and large numbers were whipped and imprisoned. Women as well as men were victims. At Winchester an old lady was executed for hiding two fugitives, and another lady, for the same offence, was burned. When Jeffrey returned to London the King rewarded him with the highest legal office in the land, the office of Lord Chancellor.

The King's approval of these cruelties weakened the loyalty of the people, and it was further weakened by what followed. James was a Roman Catholic. In a tour through the country he visited Gloucester, and a room over the Sheriff's Court was made into a chapel, where he attended a Roman Catholic service, sitting on a throne erected for him at the expense of the city. As a Catholic, he naturally objected to the Test Act, which excluded Catholics from all offices under the Parliament refused to abolish the Act, and Tames claimed that he had power to suspend the law. Four of the judges disagreed with him. He replaced them by four others who were ready to decide in his favour, and then got from the whole body of judges a decision that the King had power to free anyone from any penalties imposed by any law. Acting on this decision, James admitted Catholics into civil and military offices, and four Catholic peers became Members of the Privy Council. As supreme head of the Church, he claimed that he had power to appoint bishops and clergy, and he appointed a Catholic Bishop of Oxford, and another Catholic Dean of Christchurch, Oxford. Many of the clergy preached against Romanism, and the King then constituted a Commission, with the notorious Jeffreys as its head, for the government of the Church, and this Commission deprived of their livings clergymen who made themselves obnoxious to the Court. In April, 1687, James issued a Declaration of Liberty of Conscience, which gave Roman Catholics and Dissenters permission to worship publicly, and allowed them to take office in Church or State. Dissenters as a body refused to accept a liberty not given by law, and the King dissolved Parliament, hoping to find a new one that would be obedient to his will. A large number of the borough Members were appointed by the Corporations, and all magistrates had votes for county Members. The Lords Lieutenant (the Lord Lieutenant of Gloucester amongst them) were directed to make such changes in the corporations as would ensure the return of candidates for Parliament pledged to the repeal of the Test Act, and to question every magistrate in their county as to his vote. A large number of the Lords Lieutenant refused, and were dismissed from office. Nearly all the magistrates who were questioned replied that they were determined to protect the Protestant religion, and it was found impossible to get many corporations ready to comply with the Royal will.

Thus foiled in his effort to get the Test Act repealed by Parliament, James made another attempt to get it accepted by the Church. In April, 1688, he issued a fresh Declaration of Indulgence, and ordered every clergyman to read it during Divine Service on two successive Sundays. On May 18th, two days before the Declaration was to have been first read, the Archbishop of Canterbury, six bishops, and six clergymen met in London, and drew up a petition to the King, asking that the clergy might be excused from reading the Declaration. "It is," said the petition, "of so great

moment and consequence to the whole nation, both in Church and State, and your petitioners cannot in prudence, honour, or conscience, so far make themselves party to it as the distribution of it all over the nation." Amongst the bishops was Trelawney, Bishop of Bristol. Frampton, Bishop of Gloucester, was expected, and his colleagues waited for him. "I am sure," said the Archbishop, "our brother Robert of Gloucester, with his black mare, is on the gallop." He arrived half an hour after the petition had been signed and taken by the Bishops to the King. "This is a standard of rebellion," said James as he received the petition; "I will be obeyed." Next morning the Bishop of Gloucester wished to go to the King to associate himself with his brethren, but the Archbishop dissuaded him. "There will come a time, brother," he said, "when your constancy and courage may do the Church more service." On the following Sunday all the churches were thronged, but probably not in thirty was the Declaration read. On the second Sunday still fewer read it. James at once determined to punish the seven bishops who had signed the petition, and sent them to the Tower to await their trial on a charge of conspiracy to diminish the royal power. The Bishop of Gloucester daily visited them in the Tower, and as he left the people pressed round his coach and asked his benediction. At the trial judges and jury were on the King's side, but after a whole night's discussion the jury gave way to the popular will, and returned a verdict of "Not guilty."

James had two daughters, Mary and Anne. Mary was heir to the throne, and had married her cousin, William, Prince of Orange, head of the Dutch Republic. She was a Protestant, as also was her husband, and in the belief that some day she would rule over them, the people refrained from violent measures against her father. But a few days before the trial of the seven bishops a male heir was born to James, and the temper of the people was at once changed. The boy, they believed, would be educated in his father's religion, and

England would have a succession of Roman Catholic sovereigns. All parties in the State at once turned to the husband of Mary to defend the religion and liberties of England. On the day that the bishops were acquitted an invitation was sent to the Prince of Orange to land in England with an armed force, and several nobles pledged themselves to rise in arms on his landing.

On the 5th November, 1688, the Prince landed at Brixham, in Torbay, and his army, thirteen thousand strong, entered Exeter a few days later. The Marquis of Worcester tried to hold Bristol against him, and failed, the citizens giving him a hearty welcome. Before he could reach London every class of society had declared in his favour. Amongst those who welcomed the Prince in London was a lawyer, ninety years old. "You must," said the Prince to him, "have survived all the lawyers of your standing." "Yes, Sir," replied the lawyer, "and but for your Highness I should have survived the laws, too." In so saying the old lawyer voiced the feeling. of almost every Englishman. Seeing that his cause was hopeless, James, with his queen and son, fled to France. The Prince consulted the House of Lords and all persons who had sat in any of Charles's Parliaments, and on their advice it was decided to convene a new Parliament.

The elections took place in January, 1689. Gloucestershire, to judge from the Members elected, the tide of feeling did not run so strongly in favour of the Prince and Princess as it did elsewhere. Marquis of Worcester and his colleague, Sir Robert Atkyns, were replaced as county Members by two former Members, Sir John Guise and Sir Ralph Dutton, both Whigs. Bristol returned two Tories, Sir Richard Hart and Sir John Knight. Gloucester elected William Cooke, a former Tory Member, and Sir Duncomb Colchester, a Whig, and son of the lord of the manor of Westbury-Cirencester also divided its electoral on-Severn. favours, Thomas Master (Tory) being re-elected, and with him John Grubham Howe, of Compton (Whig), who afterwards became Vice-Chamberlain to the Oueen.

Tewkesbury returned a Whig and Tory, its former Members. Politically, therefore, the Gloucestershire representation was equally divided. But the county election is a better test of popular feeling than the borough elections, because the electoral franchise was on a wider basis. At the end of January Parliament met, voted that the King had abdicated the Government, and that the throne had thereby become vacant, and offered the Crown in joint sovereignty to William and

Mary.

The change was more than a mere change in sovereigns. It was a Revolution, peaceful, it is true, but none the less a Revolution. By passing what is known as the Bill of Rights the first Parliament called by William and Mary declared the right of the people through its representatives to depose the King, to change the order of succession, and to set on the throne whom they will. As the historian Green says, "an English monarch is now as much the creature of an Act of Parliament as the pettiest tax-gatherer in his realm." But the Revolution did more than transfer the sovereignty from the King to the House of Commons. also established the right of the House of Commons to grant supplies to the Crown, to the army and navy, and for all government purposes, for a single year only, and thus secured the annual assembly of Parliament. Further, Ministers of the Crown ceased in all but name to be the King's servants. From that time henceforth Ministers were chosen exclusively from among the members of the party which was strongest in the House The death of Queen Mary in 1694, of Commons. without children, led to the passing of what is known as the Act of Settlement, by which the Sovereign of the Realm must belong to the Church of England. Thus the present relationship of monarch and people, the annual meeting of Parliament, and the Protestant succession to the Crown, are direct results of the Revolution of 1688.

#### CHAPTER LI.

#### EIGHTEENTH CENTURY CHANGES.

THE accession of William and Mary was not universally approved. The Marquis of Worcester, who was one of the county Members for Gloucestershire at the time. refused to take the oath of allegiance to the King, and soon afterwards retired from Parliament. Seven of the bishops and about four hundred clergy also refused to acknowledge William, and were turned out of their livings. Amongst the five bishops was Frampton, Bishop of Gloucester, who thought, as many other people thought, that as long as James II. was alive no other person could be Sovereign of England. Gloucester the Bishop went to live at Standish, a village near Stroud, where he showed his disapproval of the Revolution by omitting the names of the King and Queen from the church prayers for the royal family. On the death of James II., in 1701, the King of France claimed that James's son was King of England. A storm of indignation at once burst forth, and Parliament immediately made a law ordering all persons holding office to oppose the claim. Anne, daughter of James II., was quietly allowed to follow William in 1702, but in the closing year of her reign there were plots for securing the succession of her brother. Had he been a Protestant it is probable that when Anne died he would have become King, but he was too honest to change his religion, and on Anne's death the Crown passed to George I., son of a grand-daughter of James I., and Elector of Hanover. The authors of the plots were charged with treason. One of them fled to France; the other was imprisoned for two years in the Tower of So much sympathy was shown for him by the people that Parliament passed the well-known Riot Act, by which, if any persons to the number of twelve should continue together one hour after hearing a magistrate read the Act, and requiring them to disperse, they are liable to imprisonment.

In the reign of George II., Charles Edward, grandson of James II., known as the "Young Pretender," to distinguish him from his father, who was called the "Old Pretender," made an attempt to get the English Landing in Scotland, he raised an army of Highlanders, and invaded England, advancing as far south as Derby. Disappointed in his expectations of English and French help, he went back to Scotland, and his army was destroyed on Culloden Moor. Prince Charlie," as his friends called him, fled for his life, and although a reward of £30,000 was offered for his head, not a Scot would betray him. After numerous narrow escapes from capture, he reached France, where he died. His brother Henry, who survived him for a few years, was the last descendant in the male line of the House of Stuart, a House which supplied the Sovereigns of England for more than a hundred years. By the accession of George the Crown passed to the House of Hanover, for although George's mother was grand-daughter of James I., his father was Elector of Hanover.

The change in the reigning House was immediately followed by important changes in the mode by which the Kingdom is governed. The Cabinet system, which came into being in the reign of William and Mary, was continued, but as George I., besides being a foreigner. could not speak English, he did not attend the Cabinet meetings. All subsequent Sovereigns have followed his example, and as a result the Cabinet became independent of the Crown. The "King's Speech," indeed, with which every session of Parliament opens, is only in form a Speech from the King: it really is an address from the Cabinet. The absence of the King naturally led to some one Member of the Cabinet being recognised as president. Seven years after George I. came to the throne, Sir Robert Walpole, Chancellor of the Exchequer, by his great sagacity and influence, was acknowledged by his colleagues in the Ministry to be their leader, and although he was tauntingly called "Prime Minister," the title soon afterwards became one of honour instead of reproach.

Although it had by degrees obtained supreme power, Parliament resolutely refused to allow its proceedings to be known to the people through the Press. In the second year of the reign of George II. (1728), Robert Raikes, a Gloucester printer, and father of the founder of Sunday Schools, published in the Gloucester Journal a report of certain proceedings in the House of Commons. The publication was declared by the House to be "a breach of privilege," and Raikes was ordered to appear at the bar of the House for punishment. He obeyed the order, was taken before the House in custody of an official, and upon his knees received a reprimand from the Speaker, and was allowed to go on payment of certain fees. In the next year he offended in a similar way, and was again ordered to appear at the bar. He pleaded that he was ill of a fever and unable to travel, and that the report had been published without his knowledge and contrary to his express orders. House accepted his excuse, but passed a resolution declaring it to be "a breach of the privilege of this House for any person to presume to give, in written. or printed newspapers, any account or minutes of the debates or other proceedings of this House, or of any committee thereof"; and offenders were warned that they would be proceeded against with the utmost severity. It was not till 1771 that Parliament abandoned its false stand against the Press and allowed reports of its proceedings to be published, and although the resolution is still one of the orders of Parliament, it is never enforced. Nor is it ever likely to be enforced, for it is only by allowing the people to know what Parliament is doing that trust in Parliament can be maintained.

Throughout the reigns of George I. and George II. England was governed by a Cabinet whose members belonged to the Whig party. Walpole, who was Prime Minister for the twenty-one years 1721-1742, resolutely set himself to promote the prosperity of the country. He was a strong advocate of peace. "The most pernicious circumstances," he said, "in which this country can be are those of war; as we must be losers while

it lasts, and cannot be great gainers when it ends." Freed from thoughts of civil war, people applied their energies to the arts of peace. Agricultural methods were improved, and wealth spread through the farming classes. Manufactures increased, and towns rapidly grew in size. The over-sea trade was enlarged by taking off the duties from more than a hundred British exports and nearly forty articles of importation. In the reign of George II., Robert Clive, by his brilliant successes in India, laid the solid foundation of our Indian Empire, and General Wolfe, by victories over the French, which cost him his life, added Canada to the British Possessions. At the opening of the century Scotland was united to England; at the close of the century the United Kingdom was formed by union with Ireland. Abroad, the only check to British expansion was an attempt to force taxation upon the North American colonies without giving them representation in the British Parliament. A war followed, and ended in the independence of the United States, an independence celebrated by the States on the 4th July every year. At home the only great event that hindered the prosperity of the country was a commercial speculation called the South Sea Scheme. A short war with Spain had resulted in the opening of Spanish colonies in the Southern Seas to English trade. A company was formed for the purpose of promoting this trade, and all classes of people took shares in it. So strong, indeed, was the belief that the trade would benefit all who took part in it that within a few weeks after the company was formed, shares originally worth floo were bought for £1,000. This haste to be rich without work led to the formation of companies by unprincipled men for impossible objects, and large sums of money were invested in them. In less than a year the companies burst like so many bubbles, and thousands of persons were ruined.

But while the material progress of the country was rapid, its moral progress was slow. Most of the prominent statesmen of the time were unbelievers in any form of Christianity, and the higher classes of society scoffed at religion. The masses of the poor received no education, and grew up ignorant and brutal. It was chiefly in the middle class that the religious spirit fostered by the Puritans was kept alive. From this class there came, in the middle of the century, a religious revival which in a few years worked a change throughout English Society. One of its leaders was George Whitefield, whose father was landlord of the Bell inn, Gloucester. For a time he served as pot-boy in the inn, but being anxious to improve his education he went as a poor scholar to Pembroke College, Oxford. While he was there John Wesley formed a little company of students whose methodical observance of religious duties gained them the nickname of "Methodists." Whitefield joined them. As a boy at school he made "speeches" before the Mayor and Corporation at their annual visitation, and as soon as he began preaching people saw that he was not only a preacher, but a born orator. He was ordained in Gloucester Cathedral by Bishop Benson, in 1736, and was for a few weeks in charge of Stonehouse. His style of preaching was not approved by his fellow clergy, and as they refused to allow him to preach in their churches he began to preach in the open-air. Multitudes flocked to hear him. At Kingswood, near Bristol, thousands of colliers listened to him until, we are told, "their tears made white channels down their blackened Wherever he went similar scenes were seen. For thirty-four years he travelled up and down England, Scotland, and Ireland, and he made thirteen visits to America, where he died in 1770. The movement did not die with him. Like Whitefield, Wesley was a clergyman of the Church of England, and wished to remain one. But no place was found for him in the Church, and he became the founder of the religious body now known the world over as the Weslevan Methodists.

Out of the religious revival came the establishment of Sunday Schools. At that time very few of the

children of the poor went to school. As soon as they were old enough they were put to work, and in their intervals of leisure they were left altogether without control. In a few places they were gathered together on Sundays to be taught. Early in the eighteenth century Mrs. Catherine Boevey, of Flaxley Abbey, on the southern border of Dean Forest, invited poor children to dine at her house on Sundays, and afterwards taught them. About the midlde of the century William King, a woollen card-maker, of Dursley, opened a Sunday School in that town. But Robert Raikes, of Gloucester, was the founder of the Sunday School system. Passing through a part of the city where some very poor people lived, he was shocked at the wretched condition of the children who were playing in the street. "Ah! Sir," said a woman to whom he spoke, "could you see this part of the city on a Sunday, you would be shocked indeed, for then the street is filled with these children, who spend their time in noise and riot, and cursing and swearing, in a manner so horrid as to convey to any serious mind an idea of hell rather than of any other place." Raikes himself tells us what followed. enquired of the woman if there were any decent, welldisposed women in the neighbourhood who kept schools for teaching to read. I presently was directed to four. To these I applied, and made an agreement with them to receive as many children as I should send upon the Sunday, whom they were to instruct in reading and in the Church Catechism. For this I engaged to pay them each a shilling for their day's employment. The women seemed pleased with the proposal." In the Rev. Thomas Stock, a Gloucester clergyman, Raikes found a willing and able helper, and Sunday Schools were soon established throughout the county, as well as in the city. So good was their influence that at the Easter Quarter Sessions of 1876, six years after Raikes's first school was opened, the Gloucestershire magistrates passed a resolution that "the benefit of Sunday Schools to the morals of the rising generation is too evident not to merit the recognition of this Bench and the thanks of the community to the gentlemen instrumental in promoting them." Two years later Raikes was sent for to Windsor to tell Queen Charlotte, wife of George III., "an account of the effects observable on the manners of the poor," and from that time forward Sunday Schools spread throughout the land. It was not until the beginning of the nineteenth century, however, that the movement received its greatest impetus,—teaching by unpaid teachers. Of them it may now be said, almost with literal truth, "There is no speech nor language where their voice is not heard; their line is gone out through all the earth, and their words to the end of the world."

In the closing years of the eighteenth century another great reform was effected, in which two Gloucestershire men took a leading part. It is to John Howard, a Bedfordshire squire, that England owes the reform of its prison system. But for years before Howard began his noble work Robert Raikes had been helping the inmates of the two Gloucester prisons. Their condition was extremely wretched. The county gaol, a part of the old Castle, had only one day-room, about three yards square, and only one small court-yard. In June, 1783, sixty-six persons were sent there in one week, and Raikes, in alluding to the matter in his newspaper, said: "The prison is so full that the gaoler's stock of tetters is exhausted, and the smiths are hard at work casting new ones." Those in prison for crimes were provided with clothes, beds, and a small allowance of bread. Those in prison awaiting trial or for debt were not provided with bed or food, and in one of his many appeals for help for them Raikes said that "several would have perished with hunger but for the humanity of the felons, who have divided with them their little pittance." The gaolers received no wages; in the city prison, indeed, (the gate-house at the north gate), the gaoler paid four guineas for his post. For a living they were allowed to extort fees from prisoners, who often were kept in prison for want of money to pay their debts to their keepers. Gaol-fever was a common

occurrence, and in one year there were eight deaths from smallpox. Besies finding the prisoners with food, Raikes also cared for their moral and spiritual wants. For all who were able and willing to work he endeavoured to find some kind of occupation, and by the supply of good books he endeavoured to awaken a desire for a better life. In 1783, Sir George Paul, of Rodborough, aroused his brother magistrates to a sense of their duties to prisoners, and in the course of the next two or three years new prisons were built in Gloucester, Horsley, Littledean, Northleach, and Lawford's Gate (near Bristol), and a new city prison for Gloucester was erected near the south gate. There is a bust of Sir George Paul in Gloucester Cathedral, with an inscription stating that he was the first to put in practice the principles advocated by Howard, and that through him the county of Gloucester "has become the example and model of the best system in criminal discipline in which provident regulation has banished the use of fetters, and health been substituted for contagion; thus happily reconciling humanity with punishment, and the prevention of crime with individual reform."

While religion and philanthropy were thus stirring the heart of England, Parliament was chiefly engaged with foreign affairs. A dispute as to the boundaries between English and French colonists in North America led to a war which spread to the Continent, and even to India, and which is known in history as the Seven Years' War. In 1789 a great revolution broke out in France, caused partly by oppression of the lower classes by the nobles, and partly by the extravagance of the French Court. King and Queen, and thousands of nobles were beheaded, and the whole country became a scene of bloodshed and misery. A bitter feeling arose against England, and in 1973 France declared war against her. Spain joined France, and Holland, hitherto an ally of England, deserted her alliance. In December, 1706, a great French fleet sailed from Brest. A part of it went to Ireland, but was scattered by a great storm, and twelve ships were lost. Another part was sent to burn

Bristol, but got no further than Pembrokeshire, where it was frightened by the military and a few Welsh women in red cloaks and tall hats. In 1805 Napoleon made an elaborate plan for invading England, and so sure was he of his success that he closed a letter of instructions to one of his admirals with the words, "England is ours." In battles at sea the English navy everywhere triumphed, and in 1805 the French and Spanish fleets were destroyed by Nelson in the famous battle of Trafalgar, a cape at the entrance of the Straits of Gibraltar. On land Napoleon Buonaparte led the French in a series of great victories, and brought most of Europe to his feet. He finally met his victor in the Duke of Wellington, in 1815, on the field of Waterloo.

### CHAPTER LII.

## AN INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION.

WHEN the first census of England was taken, in 1801, the population of Gloucestershire was about a quarter of a million. Exclusive of those living in Bristol and its suburbs, nearly 100,000 people in the county were engaged in some form of daily work, and more than one half of them were employed in agriculture. The proportion of the people similarly employed in the whole of England was about the same. The cultivation of the land was, in fact, the largest and most important industry in the country. The importation of foreign wheat was forbidden unless English wheat was very dear, and to still further encourage farmers to grow corn the Government paid 5/- a quarter on all corn exported. The result was that poor land as well as good land was used for the growth of corn, and a great deal of pasture land was put under the plough. As the population of England increased, the demand for wheat became greater than the home-grown supply, especially in years when the harvest was bad, and foreign corn had to be imported to keep the people from starving. During the war with France scarcely any foreign corn was obtainable, and bread became very dear, the price at one time reaching is. iod. the quartern loaf. The poorer classes suffered terribly, and there were bread riots in several parts of the country. In Gloucestershire riots occurred in the neighbourhoods of Bristol and Gloucester, where the Government bought up large quantities of corn to supply the army and navy. Two of the ringleaders of riots in the Forest of Dean were hanged, but the distress was so great that the Crown in one year distributed £1.000 worth of corn among the Forest people.

After the war was over, foreigners were ready to sell us wheat, and if it had been allowed to come in without restriction English corn would have been reduced in price and bread would consequently have been cheaper. But while the poorer classes wanted cheap bread, landowners and farmers wanted high prices for wheat, and in 1815 Parliament made a law that no foreign corn be imported until English wheat had been for six months at or near 10/- the bushel. It did occasionally reach that price, and foreign wheat was imported, but for more than twenty years after 1815 bread was seldom sold for less than 1/- the quartern loaf. Meantime a feeling grew that while taxes upon corn were a benefit to those who grew it, they were injurious to the nation as a whole, and in 1838 an agitation was begun by Richard Cobden and John Bright for the entire abolition of the corn laws. Two years later the question was put before the country at a General Election. Most of the Members elected were in favour of the continuance of the tax, and among them were a majority of the Members returned for the county of Gloucester. In 1846, however, a bad harvest in England and a failure of the potato crop in Ireland brought the kingdom face to face with famine. Sir Robert Peel, who was then Prime Minister, saw that if the people were to be fed corn must be cheapened, and that the only way of cheapening it was to take off the duty and allow foreign corn to come in free. His proposal aroused strong opposition from landowners and farmers. They argued that it was the duty of Parliament to keep up the price of corn for the profit of those who grew it. On the other hand, Peel held that Parliament ought to make goods cheap for the sake of consumers rather than dear for the profit of producers, and that free trade in bread would be a benefit to the nation. The struggle was long and fierce, but in June, 1846, it ended by the total repeal of all taxes upon corn.

The lower prices obtainable for English corn, owing to the free importation of corn from abroad, were gradually followed by great changes in agricultural methods. The drainage of the land was improved, artificial manures adapted to various kinds of soil were introduced, more attention was paid to the selection of suitable seeds, the rearing and breeding of stock was carefully studied, and improved agricultural implements and machines came into use. This general advance was greatly assisted by the work of the Royal Agricultural Society, which was founded in 1838, and also by the establishment at Cirencester of the Royal Agricultural College, which was opened in 1846, "for teaching the science of agriculture and the various sciences connected therewith, and the practical application thereof to the cultivation of the soil, and in the rearing and management of stock," The increasing quantity of foreign corn coming into the country, however, caused a gradual fall in prices. In 1883 the average price of wheat was a little more than 5/- a bushel, and since that date it has never reached 5/-, and during the last few years the price has been under 4/-. There has also been a considerable reduction in the value of barley and oats.

The average price of meat has not fallen during the last twenty years, and during the last ten years the price has gone up. With an increasing population there has also been a greater consumption of milk, butter and cheese. It therefore pays the farmer better to supply meat and dairy produce than to grow corn, and as a consequence a conversion of arable land into pasture is constantly going on. Twenty-five years ago one out of every three loaves we ate was made from English wheat. At the present time four out of every five loaves we eat are made from wheat grown abroad. During the same period the area of arable land in Gloucestershire has diminished by one-third, and in 1907 only 40,000 acres were used to grow wheat. All the bread made from this wheat would keep Gloucestershire people for only three months, and the population of the United Kingdom would eat the whole of it in less than two days.

The large extent to which Gloucestershire has become a pastoral county may be seen from a few figures. The cultivated area of the county is about 650,000 acres. Two-thirds of that area is grass land, nearly one-sixth grows clover, sanfoin and other grasses, and nearly one-twelfth is used for roots. In 1907 these pastures supplied food for about 130,000 cattle and 348,000 sheep, besides 30,000 horses, and there were 20,000 more cattle and 10,000 more sheep in the county than were in it twenty

vears ago.

Dairy farming requires less labour than is required for the cultivation of corn, and the use of machinery has also reduced the number of men employed in farm work. The most striking result of this revolution is the fact that, although in the hundred years from 1801 to 1901 the population of this county has more than doubled, there has been a reduction of more than one-half in the number of persons employed in agriculture. In recent years the reduction has been very rapid, for from 1891 to 1901 the number fell by nearly 3,000, due to the conversion of arable land to pasture.

Of the manufacturing industries in England a century ago the most important was the manufacture of woollen goods; indeed, these goods formed about a fourth of the whole export trade of the country. Many of Napoleon's soldiers, it is said, wore uniforms made from English cloth. Of the great wool-producing

districts the Cotswold has from earliest times been famous. To the generosity of wool merchants (or wool-staplers, as they are termed) we are indebted for such noble churches as those at Chipping Campden, Fairford and Northleach; and their wealth is also attested by stately mansions dotted over the North Cotswold area. After being sorted by women and girls in warehouses the wool was taken to the Stroud Valley and adjacent districts to be made into cloth. factory system of to-day was then unknown. all the processes through which the wool was put were carried on in the homes of those employed, or in small buildings. The machinery of to-day was also unknown, most of the work being done by hand. In the early years of the nineteneth century machinery rapidly came into use, and factories for the manufacture of woollen goods were built in the Stroud Valley and in Dursley, Ulev and Wotton-under-Edge and other places in the county. In 1820 there were six large cloth mills, besides several small ones, in Ulev alone. From a variety of the number of persons engaged cloth trade in the county gradually went down, and it now gives employment to about 1,100 persons, chiefly in the vicinity of Stroud, Cam and Wotton-under-Edge. The cloth produced has always had a high reputation for quality. For more than four centuries the Corporation of London have every Christmas presented the great officers of State with six yards of best English broadcloth, and for many years the cloth has been supplied by manufacturers in the Stroud district.

Among the other industries in the county a century ago were the coal and iron trades. Both, however, were quite small. So they were, indeed, elsewhere, for Englishmen had yet to learn that there was wealth beneath the surface of the land as well as on it, and that the time would come when iron and coal would place England in the forefront of Europe as a manufacturing nation. In the Forest of Dean in 1788 there were ninety coal-pits, employing nearly 700 men, but they produced less than 100,000 tons of coal a year,

or about a tenth of the quantity which the Forest mines yield to-day. A pit was rarely sunk to a greater depth than twenty-five yards, because the quantity of water below that depth was too great to be removed by the system of pumping then in use. In the year mentioned (1788) there were no fewer than thirty-one coal-pits not in use, chiefly owing to their being flooded by underground water. A few years later the steam engine invented by James Watt provided an improved method of pumping water from the coal mines and drawing the mineral to the surface, and the mining industry increased by leaps and bounds. In 1856 ten collieries in the Forest of Dean produced nearly 350,000 tons of coal a year, and the total annual output for the Forest was about half a million of tons. Bristol coalfield developed at the same time, and the output was largely increased. At the present time the coal mines in Gloucestershire yield about a million and a half tons of coal every year, and give employment to about 7,500 persons. Exclusive of the cities of Bristol and Gloucester and the borough of Cheltenham, the population of Gloucestershire is now about 280,000, and the families of those engaged in the coal-mining industry form one-eighth. For the whole Kingdom the proportion is about one-thirteenth.

The trade in iron a hundred years ago was very much smaller than the trade in coal. Until the middle of the seventeenth century a great deal of the iron used in England was imported from the Continent, but from that time until the middle of the eighteenth century the production of iron at home rapidly increased. The ore was, however, smelted by charcoal, and so great was the destruction of timber to make charcoal that people began to fear that wood for the navy would disappear, especially as wood was largely used as housefuel. A speaker in Parliament complained especially of the waste and destruction of the woods in the counties of Gloucester, Monmouth, and Hereford, and stringent laws for the protection of forests were passed which, before the end of the eighteenth century, had reduced

the output of iron to a tenth of what it had formerly been. In the Forest of Dean, as stated to a Parliamentary Commission in 1788, the iron-mine work ceased, though a few poor men, when they had no other work to do, searched for ore in the old mines which had been worked out. Then came improvements in the manufacture of iron which allowed coal and coke to be used instead of charcoal, and the iron trade of the country at once revived, thought it was not until several years afterwards that there was a revival in the Forest of Dean. In 1856 the total yield from all iron mines in the Forest of Dean was more than 100,000 tons, and there were eight blast-furnaces at work. Twenty years later the industry began to decline, and now only about one hundred men in the whole county are employed in iron mines, and the smelting of iron has practically ceased.

The tin-plate trade in England began in Bristol in the middle of the seventeenth century. Its founder was Andrew Yarranton, who had learned the secrets of the trade in Germany. An ignorant and jealous mob destroyed his factory, and the industry disappeared from the country for many years. Ultimately it was established in South Wales, and about sixty years ago works were opened in the Forest of Dean, which now give employment, at Lydney and Lydbrook, to about 600 persons.

The means of communication a hundred years ago were not so good as they were nearly two thousand years ago, when the Romans occupied the county. The great Roman roads, such as those from Gloucester to Cirencester, and from Cirencester through Northleach and Stow-on-the-Wold, were fairly good, but most of the other roads were in a very rough condition. A traveller through Gloucestershire who published a book in 1769, speaks of the road from Gloucester to Newnham, a distance of twelve miles, as "a cursed road, infamously stony, with ruts all the way." The mail coach journey from Gloucester to London took about sixteen hours. Heavy goods were carried in what were termed fly

wagons and fly vans, the wagons doing the journey from Gloucester to London in two days, and the vans in twenty hours. About the year 1820 Macadam's system of roadmaking was adopted, and this, in combination with Telford's methods, resulted in the construction of roads which still serve us.

Rivers were largely used for traffic, and towards the end of the eighteenth century communication by water was added to in the North of England by the construction of canals. Their success led to canals being made in Gloucestershire. One of the earliest was a canal. eight miles long, which connected Stroud with the River Severn at Framilode. A scheme followed for continuing the canal to Lechlade (with a short branch to Cirencester), and thus joining the Thames and the Severn. Both the promoters and the opponents of the proposal seem to have regarded the trading purposes of the canal as of secondary importance. The promoters said that their chief object was to connect London by water with Staffordshire, where, they said, "most of the cannons for the Navy and Army are run, and whose growth of timber is known to be very great, so as to diminish the expense of rebuilding our ships of war." The colliery owners in the north of England objected to the canal, not, they said, because their trade might suffer by coal being taken from South Wales to London, but because they feared that inland navigation would take away the coasting trade and injure it as "a nursery of seamen for the navy." The construction of the canal was a work of great difficulty. From Stroud the canal rises by 28 locks through Brimscombe and Chalford to Daneway, where it is 240 feet higher than at Stroud. From Daneway it runs through a tunnel two and a quarter miles long, and then at one level for a distance of seven miles to Siddington, where there is a branch two miles long to Cirencester. From Siddington the canal falls by 16 locks for a distance of 13 miles to Lechlade, where the Thames is joined. The canal was opened in 1789. A few years later a canal was made from Ledbury, through Newent, to the Severn at Gloucester, and a small one

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from Combe Hill (four miles from Cheltenham and Tewkesbury) to the Severn at Wainlode Hill. Until the opening of railways the canals were largely used for traffic, and in 1840 and 1841 the tolls on the Thames and Severn Canal realised more than £10,000 a year. The greatest engineering undertaking in the county in the early years of the nineteenth century was the construction of a ship canal which made Gloucester an inland port. Above Lydney the Severn is not navigable by large vessels, and a ship canal was made, sixteen miles long, between Gloucester and Sharpness Point, at a cost of half-a-million of money.

The first attempt at steam locomotion in Gloucestershire was made in 1831, a year after George Stephenson, with his famous "Rocket," showed the world that steam could be used as a means of transport as well as for driving fixed machinery. A steam carriage was put on the road (not on a railway) between Gloucester and Cheltenham, and ran for some time. In 1840 the present railway from Gloucester to Birmingham was opened, and four years afterwards it was extended to Bristol. The Great Western main line from London was in 1841 opened as far as Cirencester, which was for some time the nearest station to Gloucester and Cheltenham owing to the long time occupied in making the tunnel at Sapperton. The extensions to Gloucester, Cheltenham, South Wales and Hereford were made a few months later. The new mode of communication gave an immense impetus to trading intercourse, by the saving effected in money and time and the comparatively low cost of carriage for goods.

The electric telegraph was invented in the middle of the nineteenth century. Before that time news travelled very slowly. The victory at Trafalgar and the death of Nelson were not known in London until sixteen days later, and news of the British triumph at Waterloo was not published in this country until ten days after the event. During the Crimean war news from the front was carried to Marseilles, and short messages sent "by submarine and British telegraph" to England. To-day

full details of a cricket match in Australia are published in Gloucestershire newspapers within two or three hours after stumps have been drawn. The telephone came

into use in the county between 1875 and 1880.

The industrial development of Gloucestershire has, of course, made great changes in the occupations of the people during the last hundred years. In 1801, as already stated, more than one-half of the working population of the county outside Bristol were employed in agriculture. In 1001 the proportion was only onesixteenth. The building trade gives employment to almost the same number (18,000) of persons as are: engaged in agriculture; nearly 16,000 persons find work on road, rail and water; about 5,000 are classified as commercial or business clerks; and nearly 9,000 males and 17,000 females are in trades connected with dress. This industrial revolution has also had a marked effect upon the growth of the county. Between 1801 and 1831 the population of Gloucestershire increased by fifty per cent., which was the rate of increase for the whole of England. Since then the growth of the county has not kept pace with the growth of the country. Between the years 1831 and 1901 the population of England increased two and a-half times, but the increase in Gloucestershire was much less than double. falling-off has been entirely in the rural districts. the ten years from 1891 to 1901 the population in the urban districts of the county—chiefly in Bristol, Gloucester and Cheltenham—increased by 12.1 per cent., which is only slightly below the increase for the whole of England. In the rural districts of the county, however, the growth was less than one per cent., and in a number of villages the population had diminished.

#### CHAPTER LIII.

#### IMPERIAL AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT.

THE victory of Waterloo was followed by great distress throughout the country. In Gloucestershire it was very Before the end of the year (1815) the price of wheat rose to more than £5 a quarter, and bread was fifteen pence a quartern loaf. Labourers' wages were so low that they could not live on them, and they were forced to go upon the parish for help. In the manufacturing districts trade was bad and work scarce, and the unemployed were added to by the disbandment of large numbers of men who had been employed in the war. The middle and upper classes were also heavily burdened, for during the last year of the war upwards of 170 millions had been raised in taxes and loans. and the National Debt amounted to nearly 800 millions. The general discontent was increased by the state of things at Court. After a reign of more than fifty years (from 1760), George III. had become permanently insane; his son, who acted as Regent, by his mode of life, was very unpopular, and other members of the royal family were extravagant and wasteful.

Parliament did little or nothing to mitigate the distress, and from the lower classes especially came a demand for a radical change in its constitution. Most of those who made the demand kept strictly within the law, but, as often happens in great agitations, a few men tried to effect their object by violence. Government took severe measures to maintain order. By the suspension of the Habeus Corpus Act men were imprisoned without being tried, and magistrates were empowered to apprehend persons suspected of seditious writings, and to bring them to trial. In August, 1819, peaceable meeting of several thousand people at Manchester was broken up by soldiers, and five or six persons were killed, and a large number were injured. The "Manchester Massacre," as it was called, was condemned by meetings in all parts of the country, and by men who had but little sympathy with the previous agitation. Parliament replied by passing what are known as "The Six Acts," one of which prohibited all meetings for the consideration of grievances in Church and State, or for the purpose of preparing petitions, except in the parishes where the individuals forming the meeting usually reside. This attempt to prevent the free expression of public opinion gave rise to secret conspiracies. One of them, known as the Cato Street conspiracy (because the conspirators met in that Street in London), for the murder of the whole Cabinet, was betrayed, and their leaders executed.

In the ten years' reign of George IV. (1820 to 1830) the manufacturing and commercial industries of the country made great progress, and the populations in many of the towns rapidly increased. As the landed interest had a far larger representation in Parliament than the manufacturing and commercial interests, the demand for Parliamentary reform grew stronger each year. William IV., who succeeded to the Crown on the death of his brother, in 1830, was in favour of reform, but the Duke of Wellington, who was Prime Minister, opposed it. Finding a strong feeling against him, he resigned office, and in March, 1831, a Reform Bill was introduced in the House of Commons by Lord John Russell, afterwards one of the Members for Stroud.

The need for reform was seen in all parts of the country. Old Sarum, a green mound near Salisbury, with only one house, returned two Members, as also did Gatton, a village in Surrey, with seven electors, while great towns like Birmingham and Manchester were totally unrepresented. In Gloucestershire the inequalities of representation were very great. Tewkesbury, with a population in 1831 of only 5,780, returned two Members, as also did Cirencester, with a population of a little more than 5,400. In the closing years of the eighteenth century, George III., the Queen, and other members of the royal family, visited Cheltenham, to drink its medicinal waters, and so rapidly did it afterwards grow that in 1831 it had a population of 23,000:

yet it was unrepresented in Parliament. Stroud, with its adjacent manufacturing district, was larger than Cheltenham, but it also was without Parliamentary representation. The city of Brsitol, with a population of 150,000 elected the same number of members as Tewkesbury. The county had a population of more than 200,000, exclusive of all boroughs, but it was represented by only two members.

The rights of election varied very much. In some boroughs every householder had a vote, in others only those holding land had the right of voting. In the city of Gloucester the voters were the freemen, who were elected by the Corporation, sometimes with a sole aim to help one political party. At Bath the only voters were the Mayor and Corporation. Outside the boroughs, only men possessing land worth forty shillings a year

had a vote.

The Bill brought in by Lord John Russell proposed to disfranchise a number of small boroughs and to withdraw one Member from other boroughs nearly as small; and seats were given to large towns hitherto unrepresented, and additional seats to some of the counties. The changes proposed for Gloucestershire were that Stroud and an area around it should be a borough electing two members, Cheltenham should have one Member, Bristol, Gloucester, Cirencester, and Tewkesbury should continue to have two Members, and the rest of the county should be split into two divisions, the eastern and western, each electing two Members. In the counties the franchise or right of voting was given to all owners of property and to tenants holding land of the value of fio a year on a long lease, and also to tenants for a shorter period paying a rent of £50 a year. Thus the artisan class was still excluded from power to vote at a county election. In the boroughs the franchise was given to all male householders paying fio a year rent, but all freemen who had been created before 1831 were allowed to retain their votes.

The Bill was strongly opposed in the House of Commons, partly because nearly two hundred of the

Members would lose their seats if it passed, and partly because there was a fear that to give votes to the poorer classes might lead to a revolution. The hostility at length became so powerful that the Bill was withdrawn, and the King dissolved Parliament in order to ascertain the opinion of the country on the Bill.

The election was the most exciting that had taken place since the revolution of 1688. The cry everywhere was. "The Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill." There were riots here and there, but the great body of non-electors were content to use peaceful means to influence the electors. Of the ten Members for Gloucestershire, five had opposed the Bill. The result of the election was that only three went back to continue their opposition, these being the two Members for Cirencester and one of the Members for Tewkesbury. The Bill passed the House of Commons by great majorities, but in October it was rejected by the House of Lords. A storm of indignation at once burst all over the country. In Gloucestershire meetings in support of the Bill were held in every town and nearly every village. In Bristol a mob took possession of the city for two days, broke into the Mansion House, and set fire to Queen's Square, burning two sides of it to the ground. A few days before Christmas the Bill was for a third time brought into the House of Commons, and in the following Spring was sent to the House of Lords. Opposition to the Bill was again shown, but the King said that, if necessary, he would make a sufficient number of new peers to pass the Bill, and the Lords gave way, and in June, 1832, the Bill became law.

In the election that followed, Gloucestershire had to elect fifteen Members instead of ten. The representation, was however, still very disproportionate to the population. Each of the two county divisions had 6,500 electors, Bristol 10,000, Gloucester 1,300, Stroud 1,250, Cirencester 600, and Tewkesbury 400 — yet each constituency elected two Members. Cheltenham, although five times larger than Tewkesbury, was given only one Member.

only one Member.

The disproportion between population and representation was partially remedied by a Reform Act passed in 1867, whereby boroughs with a population of between 5,000 and 10,000 were allowed only one Member, and Cirencester and Tewkesbury lost half of their representation. The same Act broadened the franchise by giving votes in boroughs to all male householders who paid rates, and to lodgers paying not less than fro a year rent, and in counties to all householders rented at and over f12 a year.

The present system of Parliamentary representation was brought about by laws passed in 1884 and 1885. Every male householder now has a Parliamentary vote if he has lived in one constituency for twelve months ending the 15th July in any year, and lodgers and men-servants also have votes under certain conditions. The whole of England is also divided into electoral districts, each of which has the right of sending one Member to Parliament. Under this arrangement Gloucester and Cheltenham each return one Member. Bristol is divided into three districts, and the remainder of the county is divided into five districts. The old borough of Cirencester is absorbed into one of the divisions, and Tewkesbury into another.

The larger powers given to the people in 1832 for the election of Members of Parliament were followed by an extension of the right of voting for the government of towns. A Royal Commission appointed in 1834 reported that in the great majority of towns governed by a Corporation the Councils were self-elected, and the revenues were not applied to their legitimate use, and among the ratepayers there was great discontent because Councils were not subject to popular control. In the following year the Municipal Corporations Act was passed, which gives the ratepayers the right of electing Councillors, who in turn elect a third of their number as Aldermen, and from their whole body appoint a Mayor. Bristol, Gloucester, and Tewkesbury were the only municipal boroughs in Gloucestershire when the Act was passed, but in 1876 Cheltenham was given a charter which made it a borough governed by a Mayor

and Corporation.

The powers of self-government thus given to the large towns were in 1888 extended to counties, and, with the exception of the cities of Bristol and Gloucester, (which are county boroughs and elect their own Councils). the whole of Gloucestershire elects a County Council, which now consists of 57 Councillors and 19 Aldermen. By an Act passed in 1894 there was another extension of the principle of self-government. The whole county was divided into urban and rural districts, each with a Council to govern it. The urban districts, other than municipal boroughs, are Awre, Charlton Kings, Cirencester, Coleford, Kingswood, Nailsworth Newnham, Stow-on-the-Wold, Stroud, Tetbury, and Westbury-on-Severn. The rural districts consist of parishes grouped around each of the following places:—Campden, Cheltenham, Chipping Sodbury, Cirencester, Dursley, Faringdon, Gloucester, Lydney, Marston Sicca, Newent, Northleach, Pebworth, Stow-on-the-Wold, Stroud, Tetbury, Tewkesbury, Thornbury, Warmley, Wheatenhurst, and Winchcombe: and the Forest of Dean is divided into two districts. East Dean and West Dean.

The Act which established District Councils also established Parish Councils, and gave them limited powers of self-government. Every parish with a population of 300 has the right to elect a Parish Council, and every parish with a population of 200 may obtain power to do so; and in every smaller parish an Annual Meeting is held, at which matters affecting the parish may be considered and decided upon.

Government of the people by the people is one of the glories of England. It has been fought for during many centuries, and some of its greatest victories were gained during the reign of Queen Victoria, whose states-

men, as Tennyson says-

Knew the seasons when to take Occasion by the hand, and make The bounds of freedom wider yet By shaping some august decree, Which kept her throne unshaken still, Broad-based upon her people's will.

#### CHAPTER LIV.

#### CHRISTIANITY IN GLOUCESTERSHIRE.

On the north side of the Choir in Gloucester Cathedral is the monument of a Saxon King named Osric, who lived in the seventh century. It is placed there because Osric was the founder of an Abbey which a thousand years later became the Cathedral of the diocese of Gloucester. But Osric did more for religion in Gloucestershire than give it a great religious house. It is to him that we owe the introduction of Christianity into the country, and it is from his time that the story of Christianity in Gloucestershire may be traced.

For the beginning of the story we must look to the northern part of England. Forty years after the West-Saxons won the battle of Dyrham, and carried their conquering sword over the Cotswold Hills, the kingdom of Northumbria, under King Eadwine, was a strong and far-spreading power. Every English kingdom, save Kent, acknowledged Eadwine as King or overlord, and the friendship of the Kentish King was secured by Eadwine's marriage with his sister. Only the West-Saxons, who were the victors at Dyrham, seemed to stand between Eadwine and the sovereignty of the whole of England. But they were by this time powerful people, for their territory extended from the English Channel to the Warwickshire Avon, and from the upper tidal waters of the Thames to the river Severn. Eadwine, they were anxious to extend their power, and in him they saw their strongest foe. Cwichelm. their King, made a treacherous attempt to get rid of Eadwine by sending an assassin to his Court, with instructions to kill him while pretending to be his friend. The assassin so far succeeded as to strike Eadwine with a dagger and inflict a dangerous wound. Eadwine's Queen was a Christian, who tried to get her husband to forsake the heathen gods and embrace the Christian faith. All her efforts failed, but after his attempted assassination he vowed that if he might avenge himself on Cwichelm he would cast away his idols and serve Christ. When he had recovered from his wound he attacked and defeated the West-Saxons with great slaughter. It was after this victory that Eadwine had the talk with his followers which has become famous in the annals of Christianity in England. An aged follower welcomed the new teaching. life of man." he said, "is like a sparrow's flight through a hall when you are sitting at meat. It flies in at one door, and tarries for a moment in the light and heat of the hearth fire, and then flying forth from the other door vanishes into the wintry darkness whence it came. So tarries for a moment the life of man in our sight, but what is before it, what after it, we know not. If this new teaching tells us anything concerning these things, let us follow it." The priest said he had long served his gods for naught, and he would try the new religion, and King and people then resolved to adopt the Christian faith.

Eadwine soon had to face another foe. On the eastern side of the West-Saxon Kingdom was the Kingdom of Mercia, whose King was Penda, an ambitious and warlike ruler. Taking advantage of their weakening defeats by the Northumbrian King, Penda invaded the West-Saxon Kingdom, and forced a treaty of peace at Cirencester; and then, with a Welsh King as an ally, he attacked and slew Eadwine, and again set up the temples of the heathen gods in the Northumbrian Kingdom. Returning home, he again fought with the West-Saxons, and with the help of some Welsh troops he annexed Gloucestershire to the Mercian realm. More fighting between Northumbria and Mercia followed, each in turn gaining a victory. In 655 Penda again attacked Northumbria. Its King, Oswy, a son of Eadwine, tried to make peace by offering gifts, but Penda refused them with scorn. Oswy gathered his host and prepared to fight. "Since the pagan will not take our gifts," he told his soldiers, "let us offer them to One who will"; and he made a vow that should he gain a victory over his foes he would give his daughter

to God and found twelve houses for God's worship. Penda's force was far greater than Oswy's, but it was defeated. The Chronicle of the time records the result of the battle in one sentence: "Penda perished, and the Mercians became Christians." Three years later the Mercians rose in revolt, and Oswy was driven off. Their new King was a son of Penda, named Wulfhere. Unlike his father, Wulfhere had embraced Christianity, and the greater part of Gloucestershire came, for the

first time, under the rule of a Christian King.

Wulfhere was succeeded on the Mercian throne by Ethelred, and it was during his reign that Osric founded the earliest Christian churches ín county. Osric was a Northumbrian prince, who was appointed by Ethelred as Viceroy of the Kingdom of Hwicca, which, as we have previously seen,\* included the greater part of Gloucestershire. Within a year of taking up his duties he founded a monastery at Bath, and also set forth his determination "to found monasteries here and there, in some places of men, in others of women, serving God, so that the light from on high may be more fully shed around." Besides the monastery at Bath, he founded one at Gloucester, and another at Worcester.

While Osric was founding churches Mercia was divided into four portions, called dioceses, each under the rule of a bishop. The part of Gloucestershire on the western side of the Severn was put under a bishop whose home was at Hereford, and all the remainder of the county, together with the greater part of Worcestershire, and a small area in the county of Warwick, was formed

into a diocese under a bishop at Worcester.

To get a bishop for the diocese of Worcester, Osric went to his own Kingdom of Northumbria. One of the twelve religious houses which King Oswy founded as a thank-offering for his victory over Penda was an abbey at Whitby. Its first head was Hilda, a woman of royal race. The Venerable Bede, earliest of the historians of the English Church, tells us that Hilda "taught the

<sup>\*</sup> See page 61.

spirit of observance of righteousness, piety, chastity, and other virtues, but, most of all, of peace and love, and obliged those who were under her direction to exercise themselves so diligently in the reading of Holy Scripture and in works of righteousness that many could easily be found there who were fit for the ministry of the Church."

Between the time when Whitby Abbey was founded and the time when Osric went to it for a bishop a great change had been made in the form of Christianity in the land. To understand it we must go back in our history.

When Eadwine was killed by Penda, Oswald, one of his sons, became King of Northumbria, and founded a monastery at Lindisfarne, a little island off the Northumbrian coast, and put there some monks from Ireland, who preached among the people of Northumbria. It was this preaching which Oswy heard, and which led him to found the Abbey at Whitby. The form of Christianity which was taught in the north in the early days of Whitby Abbey was therefore the form which had come from Ireland.

Another form of Christianity had come into England from Rome. In 507, or twenty years after the battle of Dyrham, the Chronicle of the times says, "Gregorius, the Pope, sent into Britain Augustine, with very many monks, who gospelled [preached] God's Word to the English folk." Augustine settled at Canterbury, where he built a church, and soon afterwards he baptised the King of Kent. Travelling westward, he found many old Britons or Welsh, living in Wales and also in Somerset. Devon and Cornwall, who were Christians. but their form of Christianity was that of the old British Church, which differed from that of the Church at Rome. Augustine was anxious to get the British Christians to join his church and leave their own. and he met a number of their Bishops under a great oak to discuss the matter. Authorities differ as to the place where the meeting was held. Some believe it was held at Aust, a village on the Gloucestershire

shore of the Severn, and opposite the mouth of the river Wye. Others believe it was held at Down Ampney, a village five miles from Cirencester. Augustine failed to get the British Bishops to adopt the form of Christianity which he had brought with him, and for many years there were two Churches in England, the old British Church and the Church of Rome.

Oswy, the founder of Whitby Abbey, favoured the British Church, and so did Hilda and her sisters and brethren in the Abbey. Oswy's queen, who had come from Kent, favoured the doctrines which she had there heard preached by the followers of Augustine, and her son Alchfrid took her side. To please his wife and son, Oswy (in 664) summoned leaders of both churches to meet at Whitby, and discuss the differences between the two churches.

The subjects of disputes were small—almost trivial, in fact. One subject was the date when Easter should be kept. Another was the tonsure, that is, the fashion in which the head should be shaved. The Bishop of the Northumbrian Church pleaded for the customs of the British Church; Abbot Wilfrid, from a Roman Catholic monaster at Ripon, pleaded for the customs of the Roman Church, and urged that to fight against them was to fight against the world. Oswy was greatly perplexed, and did not know how to decide which of the two parties was right. At last both leaders appealed to the saints. The Northumbrian Church Bishop claimed that the British Church was founded by St. John: the Catholic Abbot claimed that his Church was founded by St. Peter. This appeal to authority guided Oswy to a decision. "To Peter did Christ give the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven: then will I obev him," said the King; and with this decision the conference closed.

It was a momentous decision for the Church in England. From that time onward the Church was ruled from Rome, and the old British Church soon ceased to exist.

In the early days of Christianity in Gloucestershire there were no churches with resident ministers. Christian

men and women lived in monasteries built for them by rich people, and devoted themselves to Christian work and Christian worship. Monasteries were, indeed, like oases in a desert. By precept and by example their inmates showed those around them how to live worthy lives and do their duty to God and man; and throughout his reign Osric was their devoted friend and helper. Other rich and devout persons followed his example, and during the next hundred years small monasteries were founded at Beckford, Cheltenham, Withington (near Cheltenham), Berkeley, Tetbury, Westbury-on-Trym and Yate, and large monasteries at Circucester, Deerhurst, and Winchcombe. Kings and nobles gave land for the support of religion, and it is estimated that in the ninth century a quarter of the land in Gloucestershire east of the Severn belonged to the Church. It was from these religious houses that religion spread. The monks built churches and conducted worship in them, and were in reality missionaries to the people among whom they In course of time, as the people became Christianised and civilised, churches one by one were put under the charge of a resident priest, and land was given for his support. In this county the earliest recorded instance of a church with a settled minister was at the village of Woodchester, near Stroud.

During the Danish invasions a number of Gloucestershire churches were destroyed by the invaders, and the clergy were driven away or almost starved. "I remember," wrote Alfred the Great, "before all was ravaged and burnt, how the churches throughout England were filled with treasures and books, whereas when I came to the Kingship so great was the decay that there were very few on this side [the south side] of Humber who could understand their rituals in English, or translate a letter from Latin into English, and I believe not many beyond Humber."

One of these "very few" was Werefrith, the Bishop who ruled over Gloucestershire. He gave great help to Alfred in much of his work for the good of the people, and Alfred went to his monastery at Worcester for

some of the scholars who assisted him in the spread of learning. The good work for religion done by Alfred the Great was carried on by Ethelred, who married Alfred's daughter, and among other religious houses he established was a priory at Gloucester, which he dedicated to St. Oswald, and in which he and his wife were afterwards buried.

In the tenth century the religious life in many of the monasteries had become very feeble, and the Bishop who then ruled over Gloucestershire (Bishop Oswald) introduced into them a monastic mode of life which had been founded in the sixth century by a foreign monk named Benedict. The monastery at Westbury-on-Trym was the first to adopt the system, and a few years later it was adopted at Gloucester, Tewkesbury, and Deerhurst. The rules were strict, but not strict enough to satisfy all who desired to live a monastic life, and a new monastic Order came into existence, known as the Cistercian Order, and in connection with it monasteries were founded at Hayles, Flaxley and Kingswood. A third monastic Order followed the rules of monastic life drawn up by St. Augustine, the founder of the Roman Church in England, and monks belonging to it founded monasteries at Bristol, Circucester, Gloucester. During Norman times some French monasteries established in Gloucestershire what are called cells - small mission stations - at Avening, Beckford, Brimpsfield, Horsley, Minchinhampton, and elsewhere.

When William the Conqueror came to the throne, Christianity had become very feeble, but under the wise rule of the Archbishop (Lanfranc) appointed by the new King it quickly revived. In Gloucestershire Lanfranc was zealously helped by Bishop Wulfstan, who alone of all the Bishops in the Kingdom was not displaced by a Norman. Nearly all the churches were rebuilt on a larger scale, and of the few that were left untouched almost the only one in which some of the old masonry still remains is the church at Deerhurst, two miles south of Tewkesbury. While eager to help in the

revival of religious life, however, Wulfstan did not look with much favour upon the rebuilding of the churches. When, in accordance with the King's commands, a new church was built at Worcester, the rejoicings of his companions were mingled with his tears, for, he said, "we are diligent in piling up buildings of stone, but are too negligent of those living temples which are the souls of men."

As the thirteenth century drew to a close, the religious life of the county was revived by the coming of the Friars. Within fifteen years of the introduction into England (in 1224) of the Order founded by St. Francis of Assisi, the then Lord of Berkeley gave some property in Gloucester upon which the Franciscans built a house. At about the same time a Dominican Priory was dedicated by the Bishop of Worcester in the city of Bristol; and a few years later a priory belonging to the same Order was built in Gloucester, almost literally within a stone's throw of the home of their Franciscan brethren. A small establishment of another Order of Friars was also founded at Wotton-under-Edge. In the rural districts, especially, the influence of the Friars must have been felt, for in a letter to Pope Gregory IX. one of the English Bishops spoke in warm terms of their services, and of the profit the clergy derive from imitating their ways."

The cells belonging to French monasteries caused great irritation during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, when England was constantly at war with France. The monks who lived in them were Frenchmen, and the rents received from the land attached to them went to the French abbeys to which they belonged. Early in the fifteenth century they were suppressed, and their revenues devoted to religious and educational purposes in England. The dissolution of the English monasteries was completed in 1540.\*

From the days of Osric until the middle of the sixteenth century many changes had taken place in the Church as a whole, but the Pope of Rome still

<sup>\*</sup> For information respecting the Dissolution see page 151.

remained its supreme head, and in every church the Roman Catholic form of worship was observed, and the Roman Catholic faith was taught. The supremacy of the Pope came to an end in the reign of Henry VIII., and durign the reign of Elizabeth Protestantism took the place of Roman Catholicism as the State-established religion of the land.

It was in the reign of Elizabeth that Nonconformity began. A body of men, who called themselves Separatists, held that it was the duty of all true Christians to separate themselves from the Church and to form congregations apart, and they also denied that the State had any right to interfere with a man's religious opinions. Parliament attempted to stamp out separation by punishing those who met for worship elsewhere than at church. During the reigns of James I. and Charles I. the Separatists greatly increased in numbers, and became known by two names,-Nonconformists and Dissenters: Nonconformists because they would not conform to the religion of the Established Church, and Dissenters because they dissented from it. In 1662, two years after Charles II. came to the throne, what is known as the Act of Uniformity was passed, which compelled all clergymen to give their assent and consent to all that is contained in the Prayer Book, and ejected from the church all those who refused to do so. About two thousand rectors and vicars, or about a fifth of the English clergy, were driven from their parishes, amongst them being between forty and fifty clergy in the county of Gloucester. Within three years afterwards, two other Acts were passed against Nonconformists—the Conventicle Act and the Five Mile Act. The Conventicle Act punished by fine, imprisonment, and in some cases transportation, any adult attending a meeting for religious worship not in accordance with the practice of the Church of England. The Five Mile Act called on every clergyman who had left the Church to swear it was unlawful to take up arms against the King, and that he would not endeavour to alter the government in Church or State, and in case of refusal he was for-

bidden to go within five miles of any town, or of any place where he had ministered. Numbers of persons in Gloucestershire were punished under the Conventicle Act, and several of the ejected clergy were imprisoned. The Baptist Church at Tewkesbury kept a list of its members (still preserved) in cypher, for the purpose of concealing their names from persecutors. The Quakers were special objects of persecution, and when, in 1687, all laws were abolished which prevented freedom of worship, seventy Quakers were liberated from the two gaols in Gloucester.

During the reign of Charles II. laws were passed which prevented Roman Catholics and Dissenters being members of Municipal Corporations, or holding public office of any kind, They were slightly modified in the reign of Anne, and in 1820 were completely repealed.

#### CHAPTER LV.

#### THE CHURCHES OF GLOUCESTERSHIRE.

THERE are two ways of looking at an old church. Oneway is to start from the door at which you enter, walk round the building, look at its arches, pillars, windows, and so on, as you pass them, and leave without any idea of what it all means. That is the wrong way. Another way is to find out the oldest parts of the building, and thus get some idea of its original plan, and then to find out what alterations and additions have since been made, and why and when they were made. the right way.

For an ancient church is not merely a building in which people have for a long time met for public worship, nor is its interest confined to the story it tells of the changes and developments of architectural art. It is an expression of the religious life of the people during several centuries, and an object-lesson in the

history of Church and State.

Let us suppose we have entered an old church, of which there are a great number in the county of Gloucester. If we look carefully we may easily see different styles of architecture in different parts of the building. One doorway may be unlike another; the stone work of the windows may be of three or four designs; some of the arches may be semi-circular, and some pointed; the pillars which support the arches may be round or octagonal; the tops of the pillars may be square slabs or carved blocks of stone; the buttresses which help to support the walls from the outside may be broad, flat strips of masonry, or stone projections, which rise in steps up the wall.

Now, all these varieties of doorways, windows, arches and buttresses are not so many varieties of one general design, carried out at one time. Just as there have been different styles of dress at different times, so there have also been different styles of church architecture at different periods. Broadly speaking, there have been five great styles, and each belongs to a definite

period.

The earliest style is known as the SAXON style, because it was used by our Anglo-Saxon forefathers before the Norman Conquest. Very few Saxon buildings still exist. In Gloucestershire the only Saxon church is one at Deerhurst, near Tewkesbury, although several other churches contain Saxon work.

The style that succeeded the Saxon was brought into England by the Normans, and is known as the Norman style (sometimes it is called Romanesque). It came into use at the end of the eleventh century, and continued in use for about a hundred years. The greater part of Gloucester Cathedral was built by the Normans, and a large number of parish churches in the county, particularly on the Cotswold Hills, contain Norman doorways, arches, and pillars.

The third style was invented by English builders, and is known as EARLY ENGLISH. It succeeded the Norman style towards the end of the twelfth century, and lasted until nearly the end of the thirteenth. No church in

this county is built exclusively or even largely in the Early English style, but a number of churches contain the tall, narrow windows and deeply-cut carving which are characteristic of Early English work.

The fourth style is known as the DECORATED style, and was in use from the end of the thirteenth century until nearly the end of the fourteenth. Almost all the churches in this county contain windows which were put in during that period. In speaking of windows, architects do not mean the glass in them, but the stonework—the tracery, as it is called. During the fourteenth century a number of new designs of window tracery came into use, but all are classed as the Decorated style.

The fifth style began in Gloucestershire, and was invented by a monk in St. Peter's Abbey, Gloucester. Its chief principle is the straight line, and for that reason it is termed Perpendicular. The very earliest examples of it may be seen in Gloucester Cathedral, and it was from there that its use spread over all the country.

There are, then, five distinct styles of architecture, and each belongs to a particular period. Their order in date may easily be remembered by their initials: the word NEED, preceded by S and followed by P, thus:

S N E E D P Saxon. Norman. Early English. Decorated. Perpendicular.

The five steps may be regarded as almost belonging to five succeeding centuries:—

SAXON ...... Eleventh century.

NORMAN ..... Twelfth ,,

EARLY ENGLISH .. Thirteenth ,,

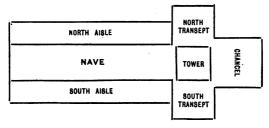
DECORATED .... Fourteenth ,,

PERPENDICULAR .. Fifteenth ,,

But it must be remembered that each style changed just before the end of the century in which it was chiefly used.

Churches vary a good deal in their ground plan. The simplest is a nave and chancel. Another plan is a nave, chancel and transepts, the transpets being projections at the point where the nave and chancel join. A third plan is a nave, chancel, transepts, and an aisle on

one or both sides of the nave. A fourth plan has aisles to nave, chancel, and transepts, but this is a very unusual arrangement, and in Gloucestershire it occurs only at the church of St. Mary Redcliffe, Bristol. The tower may be at the west end or over the junction of the nave and the chancel; and at two places in this county—Berkeley and Westbury-on-Severn—the tower stands quite separate from the church itself. A common ground plan of a church is this:



The earliest churches in Gloucestershire were probably small buildings, built party of stone and partly of timber and plaster. In the ninth and tenth centuries they were chiefly of stone. In the Norman period most of the Saxon churches were pulled down, and larger churches erected in their place, but in a few instances some of the masonry of the old building was retained and used up in the new one.

Saxon work has three or four characteristic features by which it may be recognised. A Saxon tower has no buttresses, and the stones at the corners are set alternately upright and horizontally, forming what architects call "long and short work." The masonry of Saxon walls is irregular and widely-jointed, and the stones are frequently set in what is termed "herringbone" fashion, that is, on a slant. The structural use of the arch was unknown to the Saxons until about the beginning of the eleventh century, and the top of a door or window was either a flat stone or two stones set like two sides of a triangle. The window was usually only a mere hole in the wall, divided into two or more lights by

a rough pillar of stone. A careful examination of an old church will sometimes reveal one or more features of Saxon work, but expert knowledge is required to make their identification certain.

There is no such uncertainty about the work of the Norman builders. Its chief features are so different from the chief features of other styles as to be easily recognized. One feature is the semi-circular arch, sometimes plain, and often more or less elaborately moulded. A door or window with a rounded head, a semi-circular arch spanning the entrance from the nave to the chancel, or supporting a tower, or a series of semi-circular arches dividing nave from aisle, may generally be regarded as work done between the end of the eleventh and the end of the twelfth centuries. A second feature is the pier which supports an arch. If it stands alone, as, for instance, in separating the nave from the aisle, a Norman pier is round, and so also is its top (called the capital) upon which the arch rests. If the pier forms part of a block of masonry, its capital is a third guide to the style to which it belongs. Whatever kind of ornament may be carried upon it, the portion upon which the arch rests (called the abacus) is in Norman work always a square slab of stone. When the Norman style of architecture was coming to an end, the circular arch gave place to the pointed arch, but the square abacus remained. A fourth feature of Norman work is the buttress which strengthens the wall from the outside. From the fourteenth century onwards the buttress is a thick projection, rising in slanting steps, called off-sets; on the other hand, a Norman buttress is simply a broad, flat strip of masonry, little more than a thickening of the wall. Other features of Norman work include the mouldings of the arches and of the bands of masonry, called string-courses, which run along the outer walls of a church. Its chief characteristics. however, are the round arch, round pier, square abacus, zig-zag ornament, and broad, flat buttress; and with these as a guide it is not difficult to ascertain whether or not the church, or some parts of it, existed in Norman times.

It is remarkable what a great amount of churchbuilding went on during the reigns of the Norman Kings. Of the story of that period, indeed, nothing is more striking than the story of its churches. While Normans and Englishmen were passing through the stormy time which followed the battle of Hastings; while State and Church were being oppressed under the vicious rule of William Rufus; while Henry I. was quelling revolts of barons, fighting in Normandy, and busily engaged in the maintenance of law and order at home; while the anarchy of Stephen's reign was so great that "men said openly that Christ and His saints slept"—during all this time church-building went on vigorously, and it has been calculated that no fewer than seven thousand churches were built in England within a century after the coming of the Conqueror. How many were built in Gloucestershire during that period it is impossible to tell. But the number must be very large. The majority of churches on the Cotswold Hills and in the Severn Vale contain more or less of Norman masonry, and the great Abbey Churches of Gloucester and Tewkesbury are mainly the work of Norman builders.

The ceiling of the early Norman churches was usually made of wood, which in time perished, and sometimes was destroyed by fire. A stone ceiling, in the shape of an arch, was then tried, but massive walls had to be built to carry its enormous weight, and its tendency to force the walls apart limited the width of the space to be spanned. Builders also found that the semi-circular arch could not be adapted to meet all the purposes for which a ceiling was required.

The solution of these difficulties was the invention of an entirely new constructional principle, technically known as ribbed vaulting. "In ribbed vaulting," says Mr. Waterhouse, in *The Story of Architecture*, "a skeleton vault is formed of ribs carried transversely and diagonally across the nave, so as to form a strong open framework, and to concentrate the weight and pressure of the roof upon the isolated points of support from which the ribs

spring, the spaces between the ribs being then filled in with lighter masonry. The advantages of this form of construction are readily seen: the roof became lighter, and could span larger areas; and it was necessary only to strengthen the wall at these points, instead of making it thick and massive throughout. Buttresses were introduced for this purpose; and as the wall between the buttresses, relieved from the pressure of the roof, became now of secondary importance,—for it was merely a screen to keep out the weather—it could be constructed of light materials, or opened up in the form of windows."

This new principle in architecture is one of the leading features of the Early English style. The use of the pointed arch for constructional purposes led to its adoption for windows, and nearly all the windows in the Early English style are long, narrow openings, with acutely-pointed heads. A third feature of Early English work is the moulding of the arches and capitals. In Norman masonry all the ornamental work is shallow, and most of it could be executed with the mason's axe. With the introduction of the Early English style there grew up a school of carvers who, by the use of the chisel, carried the art of moulding stone to a perfection which has never since been excelled. Its chief characteristics are bold rolls and deeply-cut hollows, producing strongly-marked lines of light and shade.

Very few churches were built in Gloucestershire during the thirteenth century. One reason was that so many had been erected during the previous hundred years that there was little need for more. Another reason was that the religious zeal which prompted the building of churches had weakened. A third reason was the constant conflict between the church and the Crown, for it was during the thirteenth century that the struggle took place between King John and the Pope, and that Henry III. oppressed the Church by illegal demands for money. Early English work in Gloucestershire is chiefly to be found in churches which were begun in the latter part of the twelfth century, when the Norman style was in fashion, and were finished

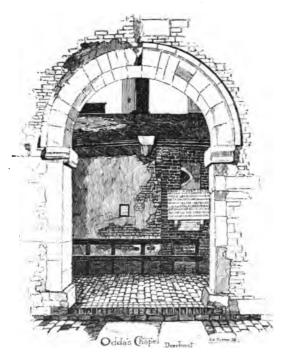
several years later, when the new style was coming into use. For this reason it may sometimes be seen in the upper stages of a tower, as, for instance, in the tower of the parish church at Cheltenham. Windows are, as a rule, the most trustworthy evidence of Early English work, for they are unlike those of earlier and later styles, but there is a form of ornamentation, known as the dog-tooth, which was only used by the Early English builders.

In the closing years of the thirteenth century a new phase of architecture was entered upon, which, from its general character, has been fittingly named the Decorated. Its beauty at once caught attention, and for nearly a hundred years architects and builders busied themselves in devising some fresh variety of decoration. Two new forms of piers came into use: one, a circular column with detached or semi-detached shafts arranged round it, the other a flat-faced pillar, generally octagonal. Doorways were also made larger, and often were richly sculptured with figures and bosses. One form of boss, known as the ball-flower, was very frequently introduced as an ornament for doorways and windows: indeed, the ball-flower is as typical of the Decorated style as the dog-tooth is of the preceding period, or the zig-zag is of the Norman.

The most striking feature of the Decorated style of architecture is the beauty and variety of its window tracery. A simple form of window is a long, narrow opening filled with glass, and this was the form adopted early in the thirteenth century. As it gave but little light, two or three and sometimes five lights were placed close together, and an arch placed over them. This arrangement afforded the light that was wanted, but the architectural effect was not pleasing, because a large plank stone was left over the heads of the lights. To avoid this defect, a hole was cut in the stone and filled with glass. Simple though it was, this was the beginning of a revolution in church architecture. From a hole cut in a slab of stone it was an easy step to a cusped circle, that is, a circle with small semi-circles at its edge;

and then by cutting away the irregular spaces of masonry between the heads of the lights and the openings above them bars of stone were made, and what is called bar tracery came into use. During the latter half of the thirteenth century the prevailing style of window was one with cusped circles in the heads, a style known as Early Geometrical. But there is a want of unity in a combination consisting of cusped circles resting upon the pointed heads of window lights, and the architects of the last twenty years of the thirteenth century and the early years of the fourteenth set themselves to devise a more harmonious arrangement. This was essayed, Sir Gilbert Scott says, in two ways. "One is what is termed the reticulated tracery, a modification, evidently, of the geometrical tracery formed of superimposed circles; the other is that termed intersecting, in which an attempt is made to determine the whole design of the tracery by an extension of the forms given by the arched heads of the lights. A third form intermediate between these two is that in which all the figures of the tracery consist of spherical triangles, the base of one resting upon the apices of the two below." These three forms of window belong to what is termed the Late Geometrical style. Beautiful though they are in general design, however, the Late Geometrical window has one defect,—a want of continuity between the tracery lines and the enclosing Its removal was an essential condition of any further advance in window design, and the honour of removing it, and thereby inventing a new style of architecture, entirely belongs to the English architects of the fourteenth century. To the use of the straight line and the circle and semi-circle they added the use of the curve, and, particularly, a double form of curve known as the ogee. A flowing style of tracery was thus introduced, a style termed Curvilinear, which is one of the glories of our country's art.

For about fifty years the Curvilinear form of window was almost universally adopted, and there are examples of it in the majority of churches in this county.



SAXON ARCH—DEERHURST.
(Eleventh Century.)



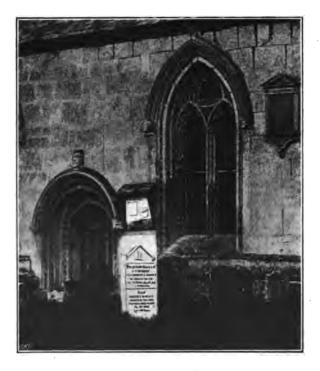
Norman Arch—Brockworth.
(Twelfth Century.)



Norman Pier-Chedworth.
(Twelfth Century.)



EARLY ENGLISH WINDOWS—CHELTENHAM.
(Lower Windows of Tower—Thirteenth Century



Ball-Flower Ornament—Badgeworth.

(Fourteenth Century.)

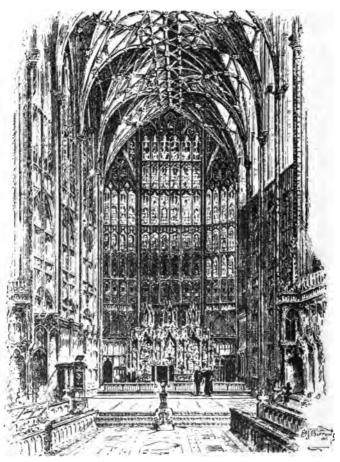


Norman Arch—Brockworth.

(Twelfth Century.)



Norman Pier - Chedworth.
(Twelfth Century.)



Perpendicular Work-Gloucester Cathedral.
(Fifteenth Century.)

Towards the end of the fourteenth century people seem to have got tired of elaborate ornamentation, and asked for something more simple. Nor were they alone in a desire for change. Hitherto architect and glass painter had worked harmoniously together; now the glass-painter felt that the progress of his art was stopped by the high state of perfection which window tracery had reached. He wanted more scope for the display of his skill, and particularly for the introduction of the human figure into his work, and he found his opportunity in the extension to window treatment of that entirely new architectural style called Perpendicular.

The birthplace of the Perpendicular style was Gloucester Cathedral. In the early part of the fourteenth century the Cathedral choir was a Norman building, with round arches resting on round pillars on each side. Abbot Wigmore determined to hide the plainness of the Norman masonry by putting ornamental stone-work over it. To do so he found long, straight lines unavoidable, and by using them as he did he invented the Perpendicular style, the last of the great

styles of architectural art.

No new church, however large or beautiful, can equal in interest one in which we may trace the evolution of architectural art as it was influenced for hundreds of years by the nation's religious belief, and by growth in knowledge of constructional principles. And, as John Ruskin says, "The greatest glory of a building is in its age, and in that deep sense of voicefulness, of stern watching, of mysterious sympathy, nay, even of approval or condemnation, which we feel in walls that have long been washed by the passing waves of humanity."

#### APPENDIX.

## SOME NOTABLE DATES IN GLOUCESTERSHIRE HISTORY.

#### YEAR.

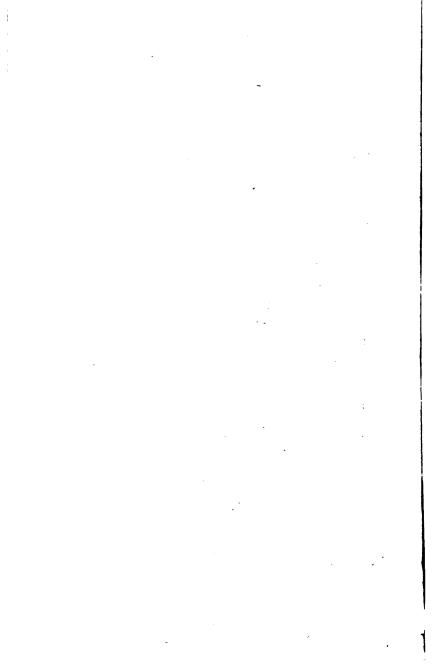
- 43. Roman Occupation began.
- 405. Roman Occupation ended.
- 577. Battle of Dyrham.
- 675. Christianity introduced from Northumbria.
- 877. Danes captured Gloucester.
- 878. Danes finally left Gloucestershire.
- 1016. Meeting of Edmund Ironsides and King Canute on the Isle of Alney.
- 1085. Domesday Book ordered at Gloucester.
- 1093. Anselm created Archbishop at Gloucester.
- 1134. Duke of Normandy buried in Gloucester Cathedral.
- 1147. Robert, Earl of Gloucester, died at Bristol.
- 1216. Henry III. crowned at Gloucester.
- 1264. Henry III. a prisoner at Gloucester.
- 1278. Statutes of Gloucester passed.
- 1327. Edward II. murdered at Berkeley Castle.
- 1378. Statute of Labourers passed at Gloucester.
- 1400. Rebel Conspiracy crushed at Cirencester.
- 1469. Battle of Nibley Green.
- 1471. Battle of Tewkesbury.
- 1497. America discovered by Bristol Seamen.
- 1536. Martyrdom of William Tyndale.
- 1555. Bishop Hooper burnt at Gloucester.
- 1643. Sieges of Gloucester and Cirencester.
- 1646. Battle at Stow-on-the-Wold.
- 1840. Railway from Birmingham to Bristol opened.

## INDEX.

PAGE	PAG
Agriculture 241	Danes, Coming of 73, 7
Alney, Meeting of Edmund	
and Canute 75	Danish Place Names 75 Deerhurst 26
Alveston 89	Domesday Book 79
Anselm consecrated at	Druids, The 40
Gloucester 89	Dursley
Gloucester 89 Architecture 257	Dursley 60
3,	,
Barber's Bridge 194	Education in Gloucester-
Barrows, Long and Round 41	shire 177-18:
Berkeley Castle 108, 132, 136	shire 177-185 Edward II., Murder of 115
Berkeley Castle 108, 132, 136 Bibury 5	English, Coming of the 57-63
Black Death 124	Elizabeth, Gloucestershire
·	at time of 170-17'
	at time of 170-177 Evesham, Battle of 104-
Cabots, Discoverers of	,
America 147	Fossila
Canals 249	Fossils 14, 35
Caractacus 51 Ceawlin 60	
Ceawlin 60	Garden Cliff 33, 34
Celts 44-5-6,-58 Charlton Abbots 8, 50	Gloucester Abbey 74, 88, 114
Charlton Abbots 8, 50	,, Castle 111
Chedworth Villa 54, 56	,, Prisons 240
Cheltenham	,, Siege of, by Edward 104
1, 2, 33, 81, 85, 178	" " by Charles I. 192
Churches of Gloucester-	Gunpowder Plot 183
shire 268	
shire 268 Christianity in Gloucester-	Harescombe 113
shire 259	Haresfield 50
Cirencester 6, 49, 52, 97, 106,	Highnam 194
132, 190,	Hooper, Bishop 165
Civil War in Gloucester-	1 . 1
shire 186–210 Cleeve Hill 8, 50	Industrial Revolution 242
Cleeve Hill 8, 50	<u> </u>
Cloth Irage 245	Iron Trade 247
Coal. Formation of 19	
Coal Trade 246	Latimer, Hugh 162
Coleford 2, 3, 21	Lechlade 2, 3, 12, 249
Cooper's Hill 50	Leckhampton 17, 78
Crickley 50	Littledean 203

Page 1	PAGE
Longhope 8	Shakespeare and Glou-
Lydney 56	cestershire 132 Sharpness 13, 251 Siddington 6
	Sharpness 13, 251
Maisey Hampton 7	Siddington 6
Making of Glor'shire 63-72	Sierford 5
Manufactures 245	South Cerney 91
May Hill 18, 35	South Cerney 91 Spanish Armada 166
Michaelwood	Stow-on-the-Wold 7, 43
Michaelwood 138 Mitcheldean 8	Stinchcombe Hill 50
Monasteries, Dissolution of 151	Stratton
Monasteries, Dissolution of 151	Sudeley Castle 91, 191
Normal and	Symonds Yat 41
Newnham 203	-,
Nibley Green, Battle of . 136	m .i
,, Knoll 156	Tetbury 263
Nonconformity 267	Tewkesbury 33, 72, 91, 109
Northleach 7, 246	Thames Head 7
Nottingham Hill 50	Thornbury 138
	Tockington 56
Deimanniale	Tin-plate Trade 248
Painswick 50, 76 Parish Councils 258	Tortworth 23, 27
	Tyndale, William 156
Parliamentary Represent-	
ation 253	Illey Bury 42 50
Paul, Sir George 241	Uley Bury 43, 50 Urban Districts 246
Peasants' Revolt 126	Orban Districts 240
Poor-Law 174	
	Wainlode Hill 34
Pailros Pobort	Wesley, John $\dots 238$
Raikes, Robert 239, 240	Westbury-on-Severn 203
Railways 251	Westbury-on-Trym 264
Reformation, The 162	Westridge 50
Reform Act 254	Whitefield, George 238
Rendcombe 6	Wickwar 33
Rivers	Willersey 50
	Winchcombe 8, 80, 91
,, Roads 53	Witcombe 56
	withington 204
Rodmarton	Woodchester 56, 78
Rural Councils 258	Wotton-under-Edge 137
	13/
Selsley Hill 43	Yate 33
Seven Springs 5	33

51° 5



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